

An excursion through the United States and Canada during the years 1822–23. By an English gentleman.

AN EXCURSION THROUGH THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA DURING HE YEARS
1822–23.

29.5

BY AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN

Wm Newman Blane

Venient annis secula seris Quibus Oceanus vincula rerum Laxet, et ingens pateat tellus
Tethysque novos detegat orbes Nec sit terris ultima Thule. *Senecæ Medea, Act 2: v.375*

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CHAPTER I. VOYAGE ACROSS. THE ATLANTIC—LANDING AT NEW YORK.— YELLOW FEVER.

After travelling through almost the whole of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as through a considerable part of Holland, France, Switzerland, and Italy, I determined to cross the Atlantic, and visit the United States, a country which I was particularly desirous of being personally acquainted with, as the descriptions I had read of it seemed to abound in contradictions.

Accordingly, towards the end of the summer of 1822, I set out from Gravesend, on board a fine American ship of 350 tons. After touching at the Isle of Wight, to take in some extra

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provisions, and two or three passengers, we stood out to sea with a favourable breeze, and bade adieu to England.

Nothing can well be more disagreeable to landsmen than the beginning of a sea voyage. Want of room, of exercise, and of occupation, added to the sickness that Neptune imposes on them as a kind of tribute, all combine to depress their spirits. I really think Dr. Johnson has drawn too favourable a picture of the life one leads on board a ship, when he merely says, that it is "being in prison with the chance of being drowned." However, B 2 there is one resource against ennui, and that is reading; a pleasure which I was enabled to obtain from the large stock of books which the passengers had with them.

I recollect particularly that one of them lent me an old black-letter translation, by Richard Eden, of the "Decades of the Ocean," written by Peter Martyr of Angleria. This is a history of the voyage of Columbus, and of the subsequent voyages made by the Spaniards down to the year 1520. I was much diverted with the manner in which the author tries to account for the opposition the ships met with from the Gulph Stream. He says that the earth is shaped like a pear, and that the water running down from the thick part towards the point, causes this terrible current: so that (to use the Admiral's own words) the ships seemed at times to be sailing up hill. In reading this work I felt my admiration for the courage of Columbus tenfold increased; for it appears that the fleet in which he set sail to discover a western continent, consisted only of one vessel *with a deck*, and two small ones *without decks*.

This curious work is dedicated by the translator to Philip and Mary, of whom he humbly requests as a favour, that they will be pleased to cure the nation of the intolerable disease of heresy.

In addition to our crew, we had on board several "Consul's men," as they are called. An American seaman, if in distress in a foreign country, has 3 only to inform his Consul that he wishes to return home; and is immediately sent on board, some American vessel,

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returning to the United States. The government allows: ten dollars for, his passage; and at that price every vessel is obliged to take a certain number of these men. By this: excellent policy the seamen of the United States are, not obliged to enter into the service: of foreigners.

I like talking to sailors:—though a rough, unpolished set of beings, they have for the most part seen so much of the world, and been in so many different countries, that a great deal of amusement, and sometimes of information, may be gained, from them. One of our crew, born in England, was taken prisoner with Mariner, by the Indians of the Tonga Islands, at the time when they seized the vessel, and massacred the crew. He was then a boy, and therefore his life was spared. The natives tattooed him all over the arms, legs, and breast; and he told me, that it was with great difficulty, and only by coaxing one of the chiefs, that he hindered them from performing the same operation on his face: for although considered very unfashionable by his naked Indian friends, yet he did not think it would much improve his appearance, to have a picture of the sun and moon delineated on his forehead with a tattooing instrument. One of the chiefs adopted him; and taught him, among other polite branches of Indian education, to use the bow and the spear, to fish, and to make a B2 4 canoe. A British vessel, which touched at the island, took him away, after he had been there seven years and some months. But on his return home his father and mother were dead, and he found himself without a friend. “I wished to return,” said he, “and I will return if ever I can; for I led a much happier life among the savage Indians than I have ever done among the civilized whites,”

One morning a sailor told me he could lend me a volume of the Waverley novels, and spoke of some of the personages mentioned in these books, in a manner which showed how completely he entered into the spirit of them. Upon inquiry I found he was from Connecticut, one of the New England states, which produce not only the best sailors in America, but also contain a greater number of well-educated people than any country in the world.

During my voyage I was astonished at the immense distance from land at which I saw those little birds the Stormy Petrels, vulgarly called Mother Cary's Chickens. We had some of them with us every day, and that at times when we were not less than seven or eight hundred miles from the nearest land. The sailors, not being great naturalists, affirmed most positively that these birds never went on shore, but that, seated on the water, they hatch their eggs under their wings; and when I inquired how the birds contrived to place their eggs there, the sailors replied, they did not know, but that such was the fact. The Stormy Petrel is the smallest of all web-footed birds, being of the size of the common swallow, which, when on the wing, it very much resembles. A flock of them following the wake of the vessel is a very curious object. They dip down and skim along the surface of the water; and if a small piece of board, with some grease on it, be thrown into the sea, they will hover round it, like a swarm of wasps round a piece of honeycomb.

Buffon tells us that these birds are called Petrels or Peterells, from their appearing to walk upon the sea—a feat attempted by St. Peter.

As we approached the Great Bank of Newfoundland, we encountered the Gulph Stream. This current, running from the Gulph of Mexico, between the island of Cuba and the point of Florida, rushes up the coast of America, strikes the southern end of the Great Bank, and then, taking an E.S.E. direction, loses itself in the ocean. Sailors are always able to tell when they are in this stream, from the great quantity of sea-weed, and from the increased temperature of the water, which, on the 20th of September, was 72° of Fahrenheit, that of the air being only 62°.

The weather on the Great Bank of Newfoundland is called by way of distinction, "Bank weather;" that is, very damp, rainy, and cold. The temperature of the water was, on the 21st of September, 6 only 48°. This sudden change was very disagreeable. It has been affirmed by some, that the Bank of Newfoundland has been formed by the great deposition of sand and sediment, occasioned by the crossing of the Gulph Stream with a current, which sets towards the south from Hudson's Bay and the Gulph of St. Lawrence. While

crossing the Great Bank we had some rough weather, accompanied by a very thick fog. One night, when it was blowing pretty fresh, we suddenly felt it so extremely cold, that some of the passengers, who had been a great deal at sea, were induced to suppose that we had passed near an iceberg. Although the captain said, that he had sometimes felt currents of cold air, on this Bank, without being near ice, yet I am inclined to think that the passengers were right. Indeed, on our arrival at New York, we heard that one of the finest vessels of that port, the ship *Liverpool*, had, a few weeks before, struck an iceberg on the banks, at twelve o'clock in the day, during a thick fog, and had only just given the passengers and crew sufficient time to save themselves in the boats. This ice is brought down by the northerly current before-mentioned, and is prevented from finding its way further to the south by the Gulph Stream. Hence it is collected in great quantities, and sometimes renders the Bank very dangerous, particularly during the whole of June and July, and the beginning of August.

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We again experienced warm weather, upon coming a second time into the Gulph Stream. Thus, on September 26th, lat. 40° 31#, long. 63°, the temperature of the air was 62°, and that of the water 74°. When we were near this spot, several beautiful nautili passed us, with their natural sails hoisted, scudding before the wind. Some of them were of the most beautiful pink colour. The sailors call them Portuguese men of war, but wherefore I could not learn. The nautili, if in danger of being run over, will, as the sailors term it, capsize, let the boat or ship pass over them, and then hoist sail and proceed again. Such is the melancholy sameness on board a ship, that even one of these passing by, creates for the moment a sensation of novelty; and a whale, a dolphin, or a flying-fish, brings every one on deck, and affords a subject of conversation. I am at a loss to conceive why the dolphin is so strangely represented in all pictures, from the Gothic emblems of heraldry, down to the modern signs of inns; for this fish is of the most elegant and beautiful shape, and bears as little resemblance to the crooked monster we generally see in pictures, as the lion of England to Peter Pindar's "old red cat."

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The first time I saw Sandy Hook and the Highlands of Staten Island, seemed to me one of the happiest moments of my life, so delighted was I with the certainty of being able to quit my prison. Even the brute animals on board, that 8 formed part of our stock, seemed to partake in the joy of their more rational companions. The hogs frisked about, the cow lowed, and all appeared sensible (the sailors said, by smelling) that we were now approaching land. Our delight, however, was a little damped by the arrival of the pilot, who, on coming on board, informed us, that the yellow fever raged in New York, and that the city had in consequence been deserted by nearly all its inhabitants. At this intelligence some of our passengers, who were coming to join their wives and children, were thrown into the greatest consternation; but, for my part, I was so rejoiced at arriving at the end of my voyage, that I thought of nothing but getting ashore.

The entrance to the bay of New York is one of the most beautiful sights in the world. On each side of the Narrows, where the steep and almost perpendicular cliffs of Staten Island are only two miles distant from the shore of Long Island, the forts and fortifications that defend this celebrated harbour seem to frown upon the vessels that enter. We passed close to the formidable batteries of Fort La Fayette, which advances into the water, with four tiers of guns, one of which tiers is occupied by a large kind of carronades, called Columbians, each throwing a hundred pound shot.

After passing the Narrows, we entered the Bay of New York, which, expanding immediately, is about nine miles in width in the broadest part. 9 On each side, the shore, though wooded down to the water's edge, is thickly studded with farms, villages, and country seats. At the upper end are seen the spires of the city; and in the distance, the bold precipitous banks of the Hudson. The day was beautiful, the sky without a cloud, and the vast sheet of water was covered with inward and outward bound vessels, the white sails of which were illuminated by the sun-beams.

We anchored just below the battery, at the point of the island on which New York is built, and getting into a boat rowed round to Greenwich, which, though once a separate town,

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now forms part of the city. Looking up the streets that run down to the water, I perceived they were all barricaded at the upper ends, and strewed with lime. The houses of course were all shut up and deserted; and out of a population of 120,000 inhabitants, not more than 7 or 8,000 remained in the city; and those only in the higher and more healthy parts.

I do not know a more sombre spectacle than a large deserted city. We are so accustomed to associate the idea of a town with that of an active and noisy multitude, that to see a number of houses quite deserted and hushed in perfect silence, impresses the mind with the deepest melancholy. Nothing endued with life was to be seen in any of the streets or neighbouring quays, except here and there a cat; for these animals, in the hurry and 10 confusion of moving from the town, had been left behind in considerable numbers, and formed at that time the only inhabitants of a great part of the city.

There is a considerable variety of opinion among the citizens with regard to the origin of this fever. Those who are anxious about the reputation of the town, pretend that the disease was imported; but by far the greater number maintain it was indigenous. This is also the opinion of most of the medical men to whom I have spoken on the subject, as well in other parts of the United States as at New York itself. They consider the question of the non-contagion of the Yellow Fever as completely decided, in spite of the report which was made by the French physicians, sent to Barcelona, and which indeed, as well as their visit, appears now to have been only a prelude to the Cordon Sanitaire. It would not of course have been right, in the dutiful and loyal subjects of Louis, to have affirmed that the Cordon, as an army of observation against the yellow fever, was entirely useless; and that the malady, so far from crossing the Pyrenees to attack the French, would not even venture out of the infected district. An eminent medical man told me, that he should have no fear whatever of sleeping in the same bed with a person ill of the fever, provided he had been removed to a healthy place; but that he should not at all like even to walk through a part 11 of the town where the sickness prevailed. This opinion was so well established, that the friends of any person who was taken ill, and upon the first appearance of the disease, almost immediately removed either to Staten Island or up the country, had no more fear of

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sitting up with him than if he had been merely afflicted with a tooth-ache. Indeed not one of those employed to attend upon the sick, after they had been removed, were attacked by the fever. Even Monsieur Hyde de Neuville, a furious ultra (who had been French Minister in America for a number of years), stated in the Chamber of Deputies, that he was happy to add his own avowed experience to the now prevalent opinion of the non-contagion of this fever.*

* Nevertheless, since my return to England, I have seen a paper by Sir G. Blane, from which it appears that the yellow fever was carried from the coast of Africa to the island of Ascension; proving, apparently, that under certain circumstances it is contagious.

For my own part, I wonder that the inhabitants are so seldom visited by this scourge. The town is very large, and is built on the flat point of the island, on a great deal of what was low marshy ground. There is no such thing in the whole place as a sink or common sewer. All the filth and soil is collected in pits, of which there is one in every house, and the very opening of which, when full, is enough to breed the plague itself.—Moreover, their contents, instead of being carried 12 to some distance from the town, are conveyed to the nearest slip, or quay, and thrown into the water. As these slips, protruding from the quays, are very numerous, and are built of logs, the quantity of filth that is retained, and which the tide does not wash away, causes, in hot weather, a most abominable stench.

The streets in the lower part of the town are notoriously filthy, and the stranger is not a little surprised to meet the hogs walking about in them, for the purpose of devouring the vegetables and offal that are thrown into the gutter.

The corporation of New York, however, seem to have seriously turned their attention to the police of the city; and will no doubt dispossess the hogs of their accustomed walks, and oblige the inhabitants to keep the streets and slips in a cleaner state. But what may also contribute to produce unhealthiness, is the very foolish and absurd practice of burying the dead within the town. Some of the church-yards have become so full, that they are raised

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several feet above the level of the neighbouring streets. Indeed the bodies in many places have been buried three deep.

I found that the merchants and shopkeepers had all removed their offices and stores to Greenwich, where they had put up small wooden booths, exactly resembling those at an English fair.

My first care on arriving at this town, was to look out for some place where I could sleep—an almost hopeless task. At last, however, I found a lodging-house, in which I could be admitted. After settling the terms with my landlady, she said to me, “I suppose, Sir, you have no objection to having another gentleman in the same room with you?” I replied that I had a very great objection; but that, in the present state of things, I supposed I must endure it. I then asked her to let me have the bed that was there, and to move in another for my companion; but, answered she, “Oh! you are both to occupy the same bed!” I could, at first, hardly believe my ears; but upon repeating the question, whether she really meant we were both to sleep in one bed, and being answered in the affirmative, I made a precipitate retreat down stairs. I did not then know that, in many parts of the United States, this practice of sleeping double is very common.

This chance of having to sleep with some person, who, besides other amiable peculiarities, might, perhaps, be infected with the yellow fever, hindered me from looking any more for lodgings; and I was glad to accept the invitation of the captain of the vessel I came over in, who politely offered to allow me to sleep on board his ship until I left New York.

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CHAPTER II. PHILADELPHIA.

Owing to the confusion occasioned at the Custom-house by the prevalence of the fever, I found some difficulty in getting my baggage passed, and consequently was detained till I had lost all patience. On the morning of the fourth day, at eleven o'clock, I quitted New

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York on board the Philadelphia steam-boat, and again descended the magnificent bay, for the distance of five miles. Turning to the west, we then entered the strait that separates Staten Island from New Jersey, after which we entered the Rariton river, and proceeded to the little town of New Brunswick, which is forty miles from New York.

The scenery throughout the whole of this distance is, for the most part, that of a flat and uninteresting country, though there are here and there some thriving little villages. Great numbers of small schooners and sloops were sailing in the strait, carrying fish, wood, &c. to New York.

We landed at New Brunswick, which is a thriving place, containing some very good houses; and proceeded by land to Trenton, a distance of twenty-six miles, over a very bad road. All the passengers had previously booked themselves to go on in the coaches which were waiting for them, and which, to the number of eight, were completely filled, and presented a very extraordinary appearance as they followed one another in a line.

The American stage is very like the old English carriage called a sociable, having an opening all round for about two feet and a half from the top, closed in bad weather by curtains. The whole of the baggage is carried before and behind, on two projecting pieces of wood which are level with the bottom of the stage. There are no outside passengers, but nine inside, upon three seats. This vehicle, which when full is very uncomfortable, is drawn by four horses, and travels at the rate of about six miles and a half an hour.

The scenery on the road to Trenton is very uninteresting, being either through thick wood, or else through an open country, covered entirely with fields of Indian corn. Each of these is surrounded by a zigzag fence made of long pieces of split timber laid upon one another.

Indian corn is the staple of all the States, except of those of New England. This beautiful plant often grows to the height of seven or eight feet, and with its large, long, sword-like leaves, spreads over a considerable space. The part of each leaf that is near to the stalk, serves as a kind of gutter to collect the rain and dew, which are deposited in a small cavity

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between the leaf and the stalk. After a week or two of dry weather, I have torn off some leaves of the green plant, and have always found a small quantity of water in the cavity. This property of collecting the water makes the plant peculiarly suited to a climate, where it seldom rains during summer, and then only in short and violent showers.

In all the States in which Indian corn will grow, it produces a much greater crop to the acre than any other grain. I have heard it said, as much as double the quantity of flour, whether calculated by weight or measure. In addition to the abundance of valuable food with which this plant supplies the human race, its long leaves, and the covering pulled off the corn itself, afford, when stacked, excellent fodder for horses and cattle: horses indeed always prefer it to hay. The large stalks look like bamboo; and being very brittle, and full of a soft spongy pith, which absorbs all moisture, form excellent litter for a farm-yard.

Indeed, upon the whole, Indian corn is the most valuable plant I am acquainted with; and I should recommend the English agriculturist to procure some Sioux corn, a species so called from its having been brought from the country beyond the Mississippi, which is inhabited by a tribe of that name. This species ripens very early in the summer; and, when the corn is in a state of verdure, and when each grain is about the size of a young pea, it is boiled as a vegetable for the table, and is excellent.

On our road we passed through Princetown, 17 in which there is a large college, once rather celebrated for the learning of its professors.

At Trenton we stopped at a very good inn, where I was lucky enough to get a single-bedded room. This is the spot where, during the Revolutionary war, the Americans under Washington crossed the Delaware on the ice, and surprised and cut off the Hessian auxiliaries.

Over the river there is here a very large and handsome bridge, which is covered at the top, and left open at the sides. At six o'clock in the morning, we had to walk down about a quarter of a mile to the pier, from which the steam-boat for Philadelphia sets out. In order

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to pay the bill at a tavern one is obliged to go oneself to the bar, as there is no officious waiter who can be called and ordered to bring word what there is to pay. Indeed paying at the bar is customary throughout the whole of the United States, however long or short a time one may stay at a house. I may here remark, as another peculiarity in American taverns, that nothing is expected, either by the waiter or chambermaid, as they are paid by the master of the house, and do not depend at all upon travellers. When remaining, indeed, at an inn for three or four days, the better order of travellers often give the waiter half a dollar, particularly if they expect to return there again. But no one ever thinks of giving anything to the chambermaid. I may make a similar remark with regard to the drivers of the coaches, of whom indeed nine out of ten would feel highly affronted at being offered money. All is paid when the passage money is paid. This, from New York to Philadelphia, is only two dollars and a half; in which, however, eating and drinking are of course not included.

By this laudable custom of not paying waiters and coachmen, travellers are exempt from a heavy tax, which is levied in England, and indeed in every other country through which I have travelled.

The scenery, on descending the Delaware, is extremely beautiful:—fine wooded banks, diversified with spots of cleared ground, thriving towns and villages, and here and there picturesque little villas, with their white sides and green Venetian window blinds.

I was sitting down in the cabin, reading a book I had brought with me, when my attention was drawn to the conversation of three or four gentlemen who were speaking about the visit of his Majesty King George the Fourth to Scotland. The account of it had just been received in America, and it appeared that their conversation had arisen, from a paragraph in a paper, which one of them held in his hand. They all laughed a great deal; and one of them observed, that his Majesty must be a most good-tempered man, to put up with the farces, that were usually acted before him on his travels. “Thus,” said the man who was speaking, “when his Majesty visited the University of Göttingen in Germany, the learned

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professors received him in the riding school (of all places in the world!) and the young nobles danced quadrilles before him upon horseback, an exhibition he could have seen better performed at any tolerable circus.”

After the American gentlemen had gone upon deck, I took the paper they had been reading, and cut out the paragraph which had caused their observations, and of which I will give some extracts.

“There are some particulars of George the Fourth's visit to Scotland worth recording, as evidences of the man-worship which appertains to monarchy. When we see a religious, sober-minded, well educated people like the Scotch, guilty of such idolatrous folly as is detailed, ought we not to be thankful that we have no such temptation to degrade ourselves?

“When George the Fourth landed at Leith, he set his foot on a large mahogany log, which, being thus honoured, is to be made into snuff boxes. Sir Walter Scott presented his Majesty with a splendid gift, of which he was the bearer; the King called for a glass of wine, and drank the wine whiskey health of the donors. Immediately Sir Walter humbly, on his bended knee, besought the King that he might be allowed to carry home, and preserve as a precious relic, the glass which had been kissed by the lips of his Majesty.—What a parasite!! C 2 20 His suit was granted; but to his infinite mortification and regret, the glass was broken in his pocket.”

The American paper then extracts an article from the London Courier, mentioning that many of the ladies who went to see the royal sleeping-room “pressed their lips to the quilt, and their cheeks to the pillows of the King's bed,” and even stole a quantity of the wool of the blankets. Upon this the American editor remarks:—

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“We have read the above to one of our Scotch friends, and he said: ‘Ecod, the Scots are worse than the Irish; they are as abject as the Chinese, who regard the fæces of the Emperor as a panacea for every disease.’”

After reading the above, I felt very much mortified, that the Courier, in its ultra loyalty, should invent and publish such fables; which do no good at home, and only tend to bring the nation into contempt abroad.

The Delaware continues widening rapidly till it assumes that large and magnificent character which is peculiar to American rivers. On the west side we passed “Point no Point,” noticed in Paine's Rights of Man.

The Delaware appeared about one mile across, when we came opposite to Philadelphia. This city is now decidedly the handsomest and best built in the United States, and contains 114,000 inhabitants. The houses are lofty and regular, the streets broad and well paved, and the *tout ensemble* gives one a strong impression of solidity, comfort, and opulence.

The famous covered market reaches from the Delaware nearly a mile up the street, which is called Market-street, and which traverses the whole of the city. Room is left on each side for carriages, besides a fine broad pavement for pedestrians; and the whole market presents during the morning, when crowded with people, a very curious and interesting spectacle. It is kept remarkably clean by persons appointed on purpose; no straw, waste leaves of vegetables, &c. being allowed to remain in it. The large division nearest the river, is appropriated to the sale of fish, which must be brought alive, or is otherwise condemned by the inspectors. The rest of the market is occupied by butchers, poulterers, fruiterers, &c.

I was much pleased with the exhibitions of fruit, which were very fine; and which, besides the ordinary kinds, such as peaches, apples, &c. abounded with melons, pine-apples, and other fruits esteemed rarities in England.

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All the streets in Philadelphia are at right angles to one another. Those that run parallel to Market-street are called by different names; as Chesnut-street, Walnut-street, &c. &c. All those that run at right angles to it are numbered, beginning at the Delaware. The street along the bank is called "First-street," the next, "Second-street," 22 and so on; and thus, you are directed to Ninth-street north, Ninth-street south, an arrangement which makes it easy for a stranger to find his way about the city.

There are several public edifices here that display a great knowledge of architecture. White marble, quarried in the neighbourhood, is so plentiful, that it is almost invariably used for the steps of doors and the sills of windows. I was particularly struck with the United States Bank, which is entirely built of this white marble. A large flight of steps conducted me to the portico which fronts the street, and which is a copy of the portico of the Parthenon.

The brilliant white of this edifice forms a strong contrast to the brick buildings that surround it. As far as regards the simplicity of the style, and the solidity and beauty of the material, I do not ever recollect having seen a modern structure that pleased me more. The New Theatre and the Bank of Pennsylvania do great credit to the good taste and public spirit of the Philadelphians, who certainly take more pride, and exert themselves more sincerely, in improving and beautifying their city, than the inhabitants of any other in the whole of the Federal Republic.

The old State House, where the congress of the Union used to meet before the seat of Government was removed to Washington, is now chiefly occupied by the Museum. The proprietor unfortunately happens to be a painter, and has disfigured it with some wretched specimens of his art, most of which are pretended portraits of worthies, born only to be forgotten. The most interesting object is an almost perfect skeleton of the mammoth, which was found in a marble pit on the banks of the Hudson. While looking at its tremendous size, even with the skeleton before me, I could hardly help feeling in some degree incredulous, that such a huge carnivorous monster should have ever existed. And

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why, indeed, since it once existed, has it now ceased to exist?—Perhaps we ought to imagine that Noah found it too large and troublesome to put in the ark, and therefore left the poor animal to perish.

Upon inquiring what occasioned the crowd which I observed around the public offices on each side of the Museum, I was informed that an election was going on for two members of Congress. “How astonishing,” said I to myself, “that where such numbers vote, every thing should be thus quietly and peaceably conducted!” The supporters of the candidates enter into the different offices, give their votes, and come out again, with scarcely more noise, than if they had been going in and out of church. In this State, as would seem just to any one unskilled in the mysteries of government, every one who pays taxes, has a vote in the election of the Representatives who impose those taxes. This is the secret of the 24 surprising good order. The voters are far too numerous to admit of the possibility of bribery; and as the elections occur every two years, they are such matters of course that no one thinks much about them.

Chesnut-street contains more handsome private houses than any other street in the city, and is shaded by rows of fine trees growing at the edge of the pavement. It is here, in the evenings during hot weather, that the beauty and fashion of the city make their promenade. The ladies dress remarkably well, but rather too gaudily to please the eye of an Englishman. This fault is very prevalent among the American ladies, who have nevertheless a great taste in dress, and are more easily enabled to gratify it than those of any other part of the globe.

The commerce of the United States is so extensive, and so devoid of all restrictions, that they lay the whole world under contribution. Shawls and muslins from India, cottons from England, lace, shoes, gloves, and silk from France, and bonnets from Italy, are all obtained with equal ease. The Philadelphians are however said to dress somewhat less fine, than the ladies of the other cities of the Union, probably owing to a slight tinge of the

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Quaker manners, which still influence the whole of the inhabitants, although only a small part of them belong to that sect at present.

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I recollect that, frequently at Philadelphia, when desirous of ascertaining whether the beauty of some finely dressed female was equal to her attire, I have perceived under a huge Leghorn bonnet and lace cap, the black face and great white eyes of a negress. Sometimes I could hardly help laughing, so ludicrous was this contrast. The black women are, indeed, so fond of dress, and so eager to imitate the fashions of the whites, that I have seen several with their wool parted in front, drawn into a knot on the top of their heads, and ornamented with a large tortoise-shell comb. Moreover some of the negresses assume the dress of Quakers, in which they appear still more ridiculous, if possible, than in the ordinary dress of the white ladies.

Philadelphia was at one time a city of Quakers; but as it increased in wealth and importance, this sect, which is at enmity with all the vanities of this wicked world, became less powerful. Philadelphia may still, however, be considered as the head-quarters of this sect; and hence, all the inhabitants, even in the better class of society, are, comparatively speaking, rather reserved and formal. Many of the Quakers themselves are gradually leaving off the dress of their forefathers, although they still adhere to their tenets.

Wherever the Quakers exist, they are always the foremost in works of benevolence. They 26 never, indeed, make any parade of their good actions, but—

“Do good by stealth, and blush to find it fame.”

Moreover they are the only people in the United States who really and sincerely strive to abolish slavery, and who at present exert themselves to their utmost to alleviate its horrors. We may indeed affirm, that all other religious sects, in consequence of the theological hatred which subsists between them, generally undervalue each other; but

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I believe they all grant the Quakers the first place in acts of charity, and have never pretended to impeach the purity—not to say the perfection—of their morals.

Philadelphia, for so large a town, is very ill provided with Hotels, or (to use the American word) Taverns. The only good one in the whole city is that at which I put up, the Mansion-house, kept by a Mr. Renshaw. At this, as at all taverns in the United States, the stranger is boarded at so much per week or day. Indeed the tavern-keepers will not receive you on any other terms; and you cannot have your meals by yourself, nor at your own hours. This custom of “boarding,” as it is termed, I disliked very much, as it deprived me of many a meal when I was desirous of going to see sights. If a traveller stay at an hotel only one day, and from having friends in the place neither dines nor sups he is charged nevertheless with a whole days board. The 27 terms of boarding are, however, very moderate; at the Mansion-house only ten dollars per week. The table is always spread with the greatest profusion and variety, even at breakfast, tea, and supper; all which meals indeed, were it not for the absence of wine and soup, might be called so many dinners.

There, Dick, what a breakfast!—Oh, not like your ghost Of a breakfast in England—your curs'd tea and toast

but a variety that would astonish even those accustomed to the morning repast of a Scotchman. At this important meal, besides tea, coffee, eggs, cold ham, beef, and such like ordinary accompaniments, we always had hot fish, sausages, beefsteaks, broiled fowls, fried and stewed oysters, preserved fruits, &c. &c. &c. The same variety of dishes was repeated at supper.

But in spite of this good living, I did not like the custom of being obliged to take every meal in public. Lieut. Hall, in his travels in the United States, has humourously remarked, “that privacy, in either eating, sleeping, conversation, or government, seems quite unknown and ‘unknowable’ to the Americans; to whom it appears, whether political or domestic, a most unnatural, as well as unreasonable desire, which only Englishmen are plagued with.”

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The public room in the Mansion-house was one of the handsomest and best furnished I have ever seen in a hotel. The carpet was a particularly fine one; and I could not observe, without disgust, that many of the Americans kept spitting on it in all directions. They delight in smoking, a somewhat pardonable vice, considering the cheapness and excellence of their segars; but chewing tobacco, which is carried to even a greater length than smoking, stains the teeth, makes the breath smell most disagreeably, and produces an incessant salivation. Moreover, this disgusting liquid is squirted, not only upon the carpets of the taverns, but also frequently upon those of private houses. I heard it alleged by way of excuse, that it did the carpets good, and killed the moths; but I should think that a person of English delicacy would rather have all the moths in America at work on his carpets, than have them spit upon by tobacco-chewers.

I have seen many individuals, in other respects men of refined manners, who nevertheless chewed tobacco. But among the gentlemen of New England, this custom, like that of smoking, is comparatively rare. If indeed the American ladies would oppose it with firmness, it would no doubt soon be abolished; for in all countries it is the female part of the community that corrects and polishes manners.

The hotel I boarded at was dreadfully infested with ants, which I was informed was the case with many other houses in the city. These insects are of a reddish brown colour, and are not the less troublesome for being extremely small. In my bed-room, which was on the third story, there were great numbers of them; and during the night, when they appeared to be particularly active, they would make an inroad into my portmanteau or gun-case. They were attracted to the latter by a small bottle of oil that was in it. When I found they had nearly eaten out the cork, I placed the bottle on a small table in the middle of the room, where the ants could not find it. When however I took up two or three of them from the wainscot where they chiefly resided, and put them on the bottle, they descended; and in the course of half a day I was sure to see my little enemies ascending and descending the table in a long stream, and hard at work again upon the cork. I tried this experiment

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several times, and always with the same result; so that I was satisfied that these minute insects were capable to a certain degree of communicating intelligence to one another.

In a great part of the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, the scenery is very picturesque, particularly on the banks of the Schuylkill. On this river are the great waterworks which supply the city with an abundance of the purest water. Just above a very fine bridge is a large and nearly perpendicular cliff; at the bottom of which a great basin has been formed, partly by excavation, and partly by a strong wall of masonry. This basin is 30 always kept full by a long weir running across the river; for the Schuylkill, though broad and rapid, is but shallow. The wheels, which are turned by the water let out from the basin, front the river. Their axes are fastened by a neat and simple contrivance to the pistons of the forcing pumps, the pipes leading from which are attached to the face of the cliff, and discharge themselves at the top into a very large and capacious reservoir. Philadelphia is the only city in the United States that is thus supplied with water, for the inhabitants of all the other cities rely upon wells and pumps. The building at the waterworks is very handsome and substantial.

The ornamental garden of Mr. Pratt is in this neighbourhood. Here I expected to see something very magnificent, having heard it much spoken of, but I was extremely disappointed; for the situation, which is indeed very beautiful, is far better worth seeing than the disposition and cultivation of the ground. Ornamental gardening is an art at present totally unknown, or at least unpractised, in the United States.

While at Philadelphia I dined out several times; but our parties consisted entirely of men, the only lady at table being the mistress of the house. This is always the custom, the ladies being seldom or never asked out to dinner. I observed besides, that it was very unusual for any one to go after dinner into the drawing-room, to which the lady of 31 the house had retired; for after sitting a moderate time, the party commonly broke up and dispersed. The ordinary dinner is three o'clock; but when there is a large party, it is occasionally put off

till four. The Americans call our fashionable dinners "suppers," a name but too frequently deserved.

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CHAPTER III. BALTIMORE-WASHINGTON.

I was extremely unwilling to leave Philadelphia, which I liked better and better every day; but my object was to travel, and not to remain long stationary in any place, however agreeable. Accordingly I set off in the steam-boat for Baltimore.

The Delaware below Philadelphia is very wide, but the general marshiness of the banks renders the prospect much less beautiful than above the city. Thirty-three miles from Philadelphia, we stopped at Newcastle, which, though a small town, is a very important one, there being no other on the Delaware so near the tide-waters of Chesapeak Bay. It is somewhere near this place, that the canal intended to unite the bay and the river is just about to be commenced.

From Newcastle the stages which meet the steam-boat, convey travellers eighteen miles further to Frenchtown, a more straggling village situated on Elk river, a large arm of the Chesapeak Bay. The road to this place is through a tolerably rich, but very uninteresting country. I remarked that some of the farmers had improved the appearance of their fields by adopting the English 33 mode of surrounding them with hedges, instead of using the zigzag rail-fence, which I have already mentioned. Leaving the stages, I again embarked on board the steam-boat, and descended the magnificent bay of the Chesapeak to Baltimore, a distance of fifty-one miles.

This city, founded by Lord Baltimore in the year 1634, remained for a length of time an inconsiderable place, but contains at present a population of 62,738 souls, and is the fourth commercial city in the United States. It derives all its commerce, which is very considerable, particularly as regards the coasting trade, from its situation on a point of land which runs out into the Patapsco river, an arm of the Chesapeak Bay. At this port are

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built those long sharp schooners, celebrated under the name of the Baltimore Clippers. These vessels, which were once considered to sail faster than any in the world, are now surpassed by the New York pilot boats.

One of the first things in Baltimore that attracts the attention of the stranger, is the greatly increased number of blacks that he meets in the streets; for Maryland, in which the city is built, is a slave State.

There are many remarkable public buildings in Baltimore, the handsomest of which is the new Unitarian church. The inside of this building is very highly finished, and is also very good, The church is a rotunda, with a portico in front. D 34 and, though considerably smaller, is built something on the plan of the Pantheon at Rome. I do not, for my own part, admire the custom prevalent in America, and which is making its way into England, of building churches in imitation of Grecian or Roman temples. I certainly consider, though perhaps with bad taste, that the old gothic style is much better adapted to the celebration of the sombre mysteries of our holy religion. It has been urged by many, that gothic architecture is too expensive; but this would not be the case, if, instead of the florid gothic of Henry the Seventh's time, we adopted the more natural and simple style of the previous centuries. But whatever style of architecture is preferred, it must, I think, be granted, that windows and chimneys agree very ill with colonnades and porticoes; and I am sure that any one looking at the Unitarian church of Baltimore would confess, that the chimneys or pipes of the stoves greatly disfigure its classical appearance.

Immediately opposite is the Catholic cathedral, which, though much larger, is not so handsome a building, as its *tout ensemble* is heavy and clumsy. These two churches are only separated by a broad street, and, as if in defiance of each other, there are inscriptions over the principal entrance of each. If I were not a strenuous supporter of the doctrine of the Trinity, I should be disposed to prefer the simple inscription of the Unitarians, “# MON# #E# to the longer one of the Catholics, 35 “As for us, we preach Christ crucified, a stumbling-block to the Gentiles, &c. &c.”

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In the cathedral there is a large and beautiful painting of the Descent from the cross, presented to the church by Louis the Eighteenth, through the Count de Menou, French Minister at Washington. This cathedral was built by a lottery, which is no doubt a very moral and convenient method of raising money, but which might induce a heretic to suppose that the builders were at the same time serving both God and mammon.

The exchange is a handsome structure, and is particularly well adapted to the purposes for which it was built. It contains a large hall, in which files of all the American and most of the foreign newspapers are fastened on sloping desks. Round the walls are suspended large and handsome maps, charts, and plans. There is also a small and select library of books of reference, such as dictionaries, &c. With the liberality that characterizes all the public institutions in America, strangers are admitted to this Institution gratis.

In Baltimore there are two fine public monuments. One, dedicated to the memory of Washington, stands in a kind of park immediately on the skirts of the city, and was not finished when I was there. It is an immense column of marble, to the top of which there is an ascent by means of staircase in its interior. The other monument is in a small place or square, leading out of the principal D 2 36 street, and is a beautiful little ornamented column of white marble, surmounted with a statue. On this column are inscribed the names of those, who fell in the battle that took place in the neighbourhood of the town during the last war.

No spot in the city is more pleasant, during the hot weather, than the public fountain, which is surrounded by thick shady elms. Here a very pretty little cupola has been erected, supported on pillars. Beneath this, two flights of marble steps, which divide at the entrance, conduct you down to the brazen mouths, from which the pure and cool water gushes out in copious streams. I was uncommonly pleased with this fountain, and used often to visit it in my walks. Indeed, though it makes no pretensions to grandeur, yet I think it does more credit to the good taste of the Baltimoreans than any thing else in the city.

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In the Museum, which contains a tolerably good cabinet of Natural History, I particularly remarked the beautiful mode adopted for the preservation of the insects. They are fixed in little shallow frames, made of plaster of Paris, on which, before it is hard, a watch glass is placed, excluding not only all living insects, occasionally so destructive in a Museum, but even the air itself; so that the specimens retain their colour and natural appearance for any length of time, without the slightest injury. This Museum, which is the property of a Mr. Peale, son of the gentleman who owns that 37 at Philadelphia, is similarly disfigured by some wretched paintings. I may mention, as an instance of enthusiasm for the art, that the aforesaid Mr. Peale has inflicted upon his two sons, the names of Rembrandt and Raphael.

Baltimore is a regular and well-built city, but inferior in this respect to Philadelphia. Should the two canals that are contemplated be finished, one from the Susquehanna, and the other from the Potowmac, Baltimore will become a much larger and more important city than at present.

I proceeded in the stage to Washington, a distance of eighty-four miles, over a very good road, but through a most uninteresting country. A great deal of the land on each side had not been cleared, and where it had, it was sterile, and apparently very unproductive.

Before arriving at the Federal City, I passed through the little village of Bladensburgh, the spot where the action was fought (if action it can be called) which decided the fate of the capital in the last war. The only American troops that opposed General Ross, were a small body of marines, commanded by Major Miller, and a few seamen, under Commodore Barney. These brave fellows were all cut to pieces. The militia, although very numerous, ran away without firing a shot; and did not stop, until they had reached Montgomery, fifteen miles distant. On account of the cowardly conduct of the militia, this action is humourously called by the Americans, "the Bladensburgh Races."

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I was much disappointed upon arriving at Washington. I had been told, indeed, that I should see a straggling city; but I had no idea that I should find the houses so very much scattered as they really are. An European, duly impressed with the idea of an ancient metropolis, might well be astonished at seeing the infant one of the United States.

It is situated in the district of Columbia, a tract of land ten miles square; which was ceded to the general government by the two States of Maryland and Virginia, and which is under the exclusive care and jurisdiction of the Congress.—This was done, to prevent any trouble, that might arise from the acts or laws of any particular State.

The plan of the city is on a vast scale, and it will be many a long year before even one half of it will be completed. Instead of beginning from a centre or nucleus, from which it might gradually have expanded, the whole was laid out, and the lots sold, wherever individuals chose to select them. Owing to this, every one selected the spot, which he thought would be most desirable when the city should be finished; and consequently very few streets are as yet completed.

From its total want of commerce, Washington has not increased so rapidly as was expected; yet 39 the census of 1820 makes the population of the city 13,247, and that of the whole district 33,039. Of course, if the United States continue to increase in wealth and population in the same proportion as they have hitherto done, the city must soon become considerable; and if, as seems probable, the canal which is to join the waters of the Ohio with the tide waters of the Potowmac is soon put in execution, Washington will at once become a place of great commerce.

But the city must expect nothing from the Government. Instead of fostering the infant metropolis, and taking a pride in ornamenting, embellishing, and increasing it, as one would naturally have supposed; the Congress has, on the contrary, been but a cold-hearted protector, and has acted, the part of a step-father rather than of a parent. In fact, it has done little more than provide for its own convenience; for as the Capitol, the

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President's house, and the public offices, were necessary buildings, the city owes the Congress no thanks for them.

But the worst feature in the conduct of the government is, that the members, arriving from different parts of the Union, have very often shown a decided hostility to the place. Each member is warm in advocating any improvement by which his own State is to be immediately benefitted; but any canal, road, &c. merely intended for the general benefit of the Union, has almost always been treated with the most appalling indifference, and sometimes even with the most decided opposition. This was most strongly exemplified in the case of the great national road over the Alleghany Mountains.

Moreover, when in the first years of the Republic any establishment was in contemplation, each State endeavoured to have it in its own territory. Thus the different States struggled for the Mint, and the mother branch of the United States Bank, which were at last fixed in Philadelphia; and for the Military College, which was obtained by New York. Now had all these establishments been fixed at Washington, they would have been under the immediate eye of Government, and would have added to the importance and ornament of the metropolis. But one member says, "What is the city of Washington to Pennsylvania?" and another, "How does the improvement of Washington benefit New York?" Of a truth we may assimilate this conduct to that of a parcel of importunate fellows pulling and tugging at the coat of a good-natured passive old gentleman; who, by the time one has torn off a skirt, and another a sleeve, remains very ill-provided with clothing.

The Capitol is a large and splendid mass of buildings, but though handsomely ornamented and embellished, has, at present, rather a heavy appearance, probably occasioned by its being perfectly isolated. It has cost a large sum, but is worthy of the nation, and does credit to their liberality.

The eminence on which it stands, rises gradually from the Potowmac, which it completely overlooks. Indeed the view from the western portico is one of the finest I ever saw.

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Immediately beneath is the most populous and best built part of the city. Pennsylvania Avenue, the principal street, commences at the Capitol, and terminates at another eminence, on which stands the large and handsome mansion of the President. This edifice and the Capitol appear, when viewed from a distance, to watch over the city below them; while in the left is seen the majestic Potowmac; and in the distance the small town of Alexandria, and the wooded hills of Virginia. In clear weather, the Blue Ridge, part of the Alleghanies, can be distinctly perceived, though distant forty miles.

The interior of the Capitol is ill arranged. There are, indeed, a few very splendid halls, but the passages are numerous, and, in general, very badly lighted. The lofty ceiling of the Hall of the Representatives is supported by very large polished columns, of a kind of American brescia, of the most beautiful and variegated colours. Each member sits in a large massive and handsomely ornamented arm chair, partly resembling that of the Roman consuls. In front of these chairs there is a mahogany desk, on which are pens and 42 paper, with a drawer below, in which the member locks up any papers he may want. These seats and desks are placed in rows, at small intervals, on the gradually sloping floor of the semicircle; while in front of them, and near the columns at the back part of the amphitheatre, is the elevated seat of the President of the Representatives. The *tout ensemble* of the Hall is very imposing. Indeed I never saw a finer room of the kind: for the Chamber of the Deputies at Paris is not to be compared to it, and our House of Commons does not pretend to any other merit than antiquity.

The Chamber of the Senate is built very much upon the same plan as the Hall of the Representatives, but in point of size, embellishment, and architectural beauty, is decidedly inferior.

The center of the Capitol is occupied by a large and lofty rotunda, ninety-six feet in diameter, over which there is a dome. It is here, as I was informed, that the inauguration of the President will be solemnized.

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In the center should have been deposited, under a suitable monument, the bones of Washington; but they are still at Mount Vernon, in a miserable sepulchre, which Lieutenant Hall compares to an old ice-house. A Dutch gardener almost succeeded in stealing the precious relics for the purpose of exhibiting them in some foreign country. The Congress did indeed once solicit Judge Washington, the proprietor, to permit their removal, 43 which was granted; but nothing has been done, nor is likely to be done for the present; so that the remains of this father of his country, this greatest of the moderns, lie without even a tombstone over them.—Such is national gratitude!

The Congress, in an unusual fit of liberality, ordered that the most striking events of the Revolution should be commemorated in four large pictures, for each of which they voted the sum of 8,000 dollars. A Mr. Trumbull, the artist employed, has finished three of these pictures, which are at present in the Capitol. They are on a very large scale, the artist not having been at all sparing of his canvass. The first, the Signing of the Declaration of Independence, though a very heavy picture, is interesting from the number of portraits. The signers are for the most part dressed, not only in Quaker colours, but in Quaker style. I must of course except Jefferson, who forms a most marked and vivid contrast to the rest, being decorated with a bright red waistcoat. The second picture, the subject of which is the Surrender of General Burgoyne to General Gates, is much the best, some of the figures being very well executed. But the third picture, the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis, is the worst. In this the French officers, drawn up to allow the vanquished troops to pass through, are as stiff as Prussian sentries when they present arms: moreover, their heads are in a line of such accurate straightness, that 44 they look like a set of figures drawn to illustrate the art of perspective.

The dome of the Capitol was not quite finished when I saw it, but this and part of the eastern front is all that is wanting to complete the vast edifice. The whole has been rebuilt since 1814, when, together with the President's house and the public offices, it was burnt by the British.

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This was a most unjustifiable act; for, although undoubtedly the Americans, by the destruction of Newark, began the system of burning, which was pursued during the war, yet the British had already amply retaliated, by laying waste most of the towns on the American frontier. Moreover, though the order given to the Secretary of War somewhat equivocal, the Americans highly disapproved of the conduct of General M'Clure; and the Government accordingly removed him from his command. But even if Newark had been burnt intentionally, it would at any rate have been well for the British not to have emulated the Vandals and the Mahommedans in destroying the whole of the library of the Congress, containing a great number of old and valuable works. I may add, that all the public records and documents also perished in the Capitol—an irreparable loss to the Americans—but which was, therefore, perhaps a more agreeable triumph to their momentary conquerors. Instead of burning, it would have been much better to have levied a contribution on the 45 city, as was done at Alexandria. This would have benefitted the victors without exposing them to the censure of posterity. Besides, nothing during the whole war tended so much to unite the Americans as the burning of the metropolis. Those who would not perhaps have opposed the British troops very heartily, were now obliged to do so out of fear. “If,” said the Baltimoreans, the Philadelphians, &c. &c. “these fellows come here, they will act as they did at Washington.”

The City Hall, when finished, will be the handsomest building in the United States. It fronts the Potowmac, and commands a very advantageous view of the city.

Few places could have been selected possessing greater natural beauties, and, at the same time, better adapted for the scite of a metropolis. I think, indeed, that Washington, in point of situation, ranks first among the American cities.

The Patent Office, to which strangers are freely admitted, contains a number of very interesting models. Among those of bridges, I particularly admired that of a straight bridge, constructed by means of timbers, connected diagonally over a span of 200 feet, at Fayetteville, in North Carolina. The model was placed across a division between two

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of the cases of the smaller models; and though it was apparently very slight, yet when a piece of wood was fastened to it by several small cords, it supported three or four of the visitors.

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The entrance to the Navy-yard is through a very handsome, though simple, arched gateway of white stone. Immediately fronting this is a beautiful little rostrated column of white marble, surmounted by the American eagle. Round the column, and standing on a large and elevated pedestal of the same material, are some fine emblematical statues. This monument was erected by the officers of the American navy, to the memory of their comrades who fell at Tunis. It is one of the handsomest and most chaste little monuments that I have ever seen, and was made in Italy; indeed, I recognized it as a copy of the column of Duilius. I observed that some of the figures surrounding it had been broken, evidently on purpose; and accordingly at the base of the column I found this inscription: "Mutilated by Britons, August 14, 1814."—But would not the English officers have punished any man detected in injuring it? Surely the damage must have been done by some ignorant and brutal soldier, when the Navy-yard was destroyed: for had it been otherwise, or had the British really intended to have injured the figures, they would not have stopped at breaking an arm or two. I should be glad to see this inscription effaced, as it tends to increase hostile feelings, which are contrary to the interest of both countries.

The chief curiosity in the Navy-yard is the ingenious and beautiful machinery, contrived by 47 Commodore Rodgers, for hauling up vessels of war out of the water; and thus obviating the necessity of dry docks, which, owing to the small rise and fall of the tide, could not be constructed without great difficulty. Large strong beams are run completely through the vessel, entering at the port-holes on one side and coming out at those on the opposite, while both the ends of the beams rest upon an inclined plane that slopes down to the water. Attached to each beam, just where it enters the porthole, are two very strong chains, which are fastened to a large block of wood, made to fit the keel. These chains are tightened by wedges and screws—and, by this means, the ship is supported on its keel

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the same as when on the stocks. A large chain or two is put entirely round the vessel, from the bows to the stern, and to these a cable is attached, which is stretched forward to a windlass. The vessel is thus easily drawn up out of the water. Indeed, 150 men were able to draw up the Potowmac the largest frigate I ever saw, and which was on the plane when I was at Washington. Over the whole machine a very handsome roof has been built, which completely protects the vessel.

Besides the Potowmac, there was building, in the Navy-yard, a large frigate with an elliptical stern.

The Armoury is very prettily arranged, and kept in excellent order. I saw there several of the celebrated "repeating swivels." Each is composed of 48 seven parallel barrels, fastened together with iron hoops, in the manner of Roman fasces, six forming the circle, with one in the centre. Each barrel is about four feet and a half long, and a quarter of an inch thick; and the whole engine turns on a pivot, much resembling that which is ordinarily used for a swivel, and is directed by means of a crooked iron handle. The lock that fires it, is placed about eighteen inches from the muzzle. The chief secret is in the loading, which is difficult, and takes a long time. They are, therefore, sent ready loaded to the vessels and forts, where they are wanted, and after being once fired are sent home again. Their calibre is nearly the same as that of a musket, and they discharge altogether 350 balls, that is, seven at a time for fifty successive discharges, at half a second interval. These most formidable weapons appeared to be of a rough and cheap construction. A fort or vessel provided with a great number might keep up such a murderous fire, that advancing or boarding in the face of it would be almost impossible.

The Navy-yard is on what is called the eastern branch of the Potowmac. At a little distance off, on the main branch, is a straight wooden bridge, nine furlongs in length, which presents a curious appearance.

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The President's house, a noble mansion, or rather palace, built on an eminence fronting the Potowmac, was not quite finished when I was at 49 Washington, but already formed a majestic object. The former mansion, with every thing it contained, was burnt by the British.

Shortly after my arrival at Washington, as I was one day coming with a friend from visiting the public offices, he pointed out to me a well dressed gentleman, walking by himself. "That," said he, "is the President of the United States." When this great personage met us, my friend introduced me to him. I took off my hat as a mark of respect; upon which the President did the same, and shook me by the hand, saying he was glad to see me. I went soon afterwards to pay my respects to him at his house, in company with the same friend. We were shown into a handsome room, where the President had been writing. When he came in, he shook us by the hand, requested us to sit down, and conversed upon a variety of topics. I may here observe, that whenever, in America, you are introduced to any one, the custom is to shake hands. I like this custom, as it is much more friendly, and puts you more at your ease, than the cold formal bow, with which, in England, and indeed in most of Europe, you are greeted at the performance of this ceremony. I was very much pleased with the unaffected urbanity and politeness of the President, so entirely different from what I should have met with on being introduced to a person of anything like the same importance in Europe. When going to E 50 pay my respects to a Duke of Tuscany, or even to a petty German prince, whose whole territory was not larger than a county in one of the United States, I have had to dress in a court uniform, and to pass by a whole file of soldiers, and then by half a dozen pages, officers, and chamberlains, with gold keys at their pockets, &c. But the President of the United States received me in my ordinary morning dress; and, though he is Commander-in-chief of the army and navy, has no need of sentinels at his door, being sufficiently protected by the love of his fellow citizens.

I can safely say, that the manly simplicity of the President impressed me with much more respect, than the absurd mummary of European potentates. Yet surely if pride

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can be tolerated in any man, it must be in him, who (like President Monroe) has been placed at the head of the government of his native country, by the unanimous suffrage of eight millions of his fellow citizens. How much more has he to be proud of, than the petty distinction of birth or fortune! and what an immeasurable distance between him and a German *Princeling*! Yet, to judge by their manners and bearing, you would fancy the Prince was the greatest man on earth, and the President merely a private individual; whereas the one is a most unimportant personage, except in his own opinion, and the other is really a great man.

A short time before my arrival at Washington, 51 there occurred a fine example of Republican simplicity. Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, happened to meet together at the opening of a college at Charlottesville in Virginia. I suppose this is the only instance, on record, of three men, two of whom *had been* , and one of actually *was* , at the head of the government of the self-same country, meeting by chance, and in the most unceremonious and friendly way, passing the evening together. There were four Presidents alive when I was in United States,—Adams, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe.

The environs of Washington abound in picturesque scenery. From the hills, on the Virginia bank of the river, and also from those beyond the eastern branch, the city appears scattered over the plain below, and elevates itself here and there in some grand structure, such as the Capitol, the President's house, or the City Hall; while below rolls the mighty Potowmac, diversified with the numerous boats and vessels that are constantly moving over its surface.

Seven miles off, at the little town of Alexandria, there is another very fine view of the city. By the bye I may mention, that at this place my attention was much attracted by the singular construction of the ferry-boat. As considerable commerce is carried on here, it was important to be able to cross over with the greatest celerity from the Maryland to the Virginian shore. A steam-boat was E 2 52 found to be too expensive; but, incited by the hopes of gain, an ingenious mechanic has invented what he calls a team-boat, and which

(when I was there) plied from side to side every quarter of an hour. This boat is worked by four horses, two on each side, with their heads in contrary directions. Each horse is fastened to an iron bar, that goes across the shed under which two of them stand. Their feet rest upon a large horizontal wheel, the centre of which coincides with that of the boat, whose two sides are tangents to it. It is rather lower than the deck; and as the whole of the middle of the upper part of the boat is thus unoccupied, waggons and carts can be driven in and out without any difficulty. When the boat is to be put in motion, the horses are whipped, and by striving to go on, turn round the wheel which is beneath their feet, and which again turns two large exterior wheels armed with paddles, as in a steam-boat. To conclude my description, there is also a simple contrivance for shifting the machinery, by which the wheels are made to move either way, so that the boat can proceed with either end foremost. It crosses easily in twelve minutes; and, as there is no tax upon horses, the invention has united cheapness with expedition.

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CHAPTER IV. THE GOVERNMENT.

We constantly hear it affirmed in Europe, and particularly when the conversation turns upon the subject of the United States, that no Republic has ever yet existed, and that none will ever be able to exist, for any length of time. In order to support this assertion, the ancient Republics of Greece and Rome, and the more modern ones of Italy and Holland, are quoted as examples; and it follows as a natural deduction that monarchy, either limited or absolute, is the only sort of government that can or ought to exist.

Now, in the first place, I beg leave to observe, that if the duration of a government be taken as a proof of its excellence, we should do well to adopt the paternal despotism of the celestial empire of China. But however that may be, I may remind the lovers of antiquity, that the Republic of the United States has already lasted, without any material alteration, for half a century; and as every government may be considered stable, when the mass of the people is in the full enjoyment of liberty, and when all those have perished who

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recollected a different one, the United States may bid defiance to those friends of "Social Order" who would rejoice in seeing the country swimming in 54 blood, if it would but tend to establish a tyranny like their own.

In the next place I must observe, that there never yet has been a Republic similar to that of the United States. I talk not of names, but of things. The government of Great Britain is called a Monarchy, and so is that of Morocco; but I presume no one will be so disloyal a subject, as to compare the mild sway of his Britannic Majesty to the cruel tyranny of the Moorish Emperor. Yet I am disposed to maintain, that there is as much resemblance between these two most opposite governments, as between the Republic of the United States and any of those of ancient or modern times. I shall therefore now say a few words about these self-styled Republics; and I hope the reader will pardon the length of the digression when he considers the importance of the subject.

I begin with Athens, that most ungrateful and capricious of States! But shall a turbulent and factious democracy, composed of the most heterogeneous elements, and liable to commit whatever atrocious action might be advised by a corrupt orator, be compared to the steady and regular administration of a Representative government? It is amusing indeed to consider, that these Athenians, the inhabitants of a territory which absolutely vanishes as compared to the United States, apparently considered themselves as the greatest of nations, and were constantly involved in wars, by 55 inattention to their own affairs, and an absurd desire of regulating those of their neighbours.

Yet the Athenians had certainly better pretensions to the noble title of Republicans than their barbarous rivals of Sparta. The laws of Lycurgus, which it has been the fashion to admire, were only adapted to keep the people in ignorance, and to prevent civilization. In our modern acceptation of the word Freedom, no people were less free than Spartans. They could not leave their country without permission; they were not allowed to devote themselves to elegant literature, or to the cultivation of the fine arts; and as they could not educate their own children, or take their dinner in private, or even visit their wives

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except by stealth; all domestic enjoyment, and, in short, all that makes life valuable, was prohibited. Truly that was an excellent government, which encouraged stealing, and thus destroyed the reverence for the *meum* and *tuum*, which it is one of the principal objects of all reasonable governments to maintain.

That the liberty of the Spartans, like that of all the ancients, was perfectly egotistical, is sufficiently proved by their wish to prevent the re-construction of the walls of Athens; and it is surely enough to brand the name of these jealous barbarians with eternal infamy, that they were the first of all the Greeks who submitted to the yoke of Rome.

I may remark of all the Grecian Republics, that they were constantly quarrelling among themselves, 56 and that they were alternately exposed to the most severe despotism and the most licentious democracy. Nothing indeed enabled these ill-governed States to retain their independence so long as they did, but that their neighbours wanted the skill and knowledge, requisite for subduing nations somewhat, though very little, their superiors.

Modern research has destroyed all the splendid fables of Thermopylæ, Salamis, and Marathon;* and though almost sorry to give them up, the unprejudiced inquirer after truth is obliged to place them by the side of the equally authentic accounts of the hone-cutting razor and the vinegar-melted Alps of the Roman historian.

* Vide the learned dissertation prefixed to Richardson's Persian Dictionary.

But let us pass over these insignificant little Grecian hordes, who, notwithstanding the knowledge some of them possessed in poetry, architecture, &c., inspire me with less esteem than my friends of the Six Nations—men of less superstition, equal eloquence, and far greater morality.

The Roman Republic was by its very constitution an Aristocracy, and that too of the most cruel and intolerant kind. The whole history of Rome is a mere account of struggles for power, between the Patricians and the People—a circumstance which demonstrates the

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badness of the government. Nothing produced any degree of quiet, but the murderous policy of the Senate, in waging incessant 57 wars, by means of which they rid themselves of the more enterprising and turbulent spirits, and induced the Plebeians to forget their liberties in the intoxication of military glory. The government allowed the armies to plunder the nations they conquered, in the same way as, in our times, Napoleon permitted his sanguinary legions. Indeed, if the administration of the colonies was the same under the consuls that it was under the emperors, we may judge of the hypocritical policy of the Republic from what Galgacus said: "Auferre, trucidare, rapere, falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant." If the Carthaginians, and the other conquered nations, had left any histories behind them, I have no doubt they would materially diminish our respect for the "rerum dominos gentemque togatam." For my own part I should think that the "lords of the universe," by frequently condemning their captives to fight in the amphitheatres, showed much greater cruelty than the American Indians. Moreover, if a government is to be blamed for the licentious depravity of the people, we may remark, that the Romans, imitating all that was bad in the Greeks, were guilty of unnatural and horrible vices, worthy only of the Arreoyoys and the Mawhoos of the Friendly Islands.

After the Republic of Rome had naturally sunk into a military despotism, Freedom slept a sleep of centuries, and it was not until comparatively modern 58 times that she awoke, never more to slumber. The Tuscan Republics, though infinitely superior to that of ancient Rome, as regards civilization, had made but little progress in the science of government. "Viewed as Republics," says Mr. Forsyth, "the Tuscans and the Greeks were equally turbulent within their walls, and equally vain of figuring among foreign sovereigns; always jealous of their political independence, but often negligent of their civil freedom; for ever shifting their alliances abroad, or undulating between ill-balanced factions at home. In such alternations of power the Patricians became imperious, the Commons blood-thirsty, and both so opposite, that nothing but an enemy at the gates could unite them." Mr. Forsyth then mentions the frivolity and the cruel effects of their wars; but it is impossible for me

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to enter into any detail on these subjects, which I regret the less, as the Italian, like the Grecian Republics, were too small and weak to retain their independence for any length of time. The State of New York would have comprised them all, and Long Island by itself would have been considered a most influential power.

With regard to the other Italian Republics, it is enough to remark that Venice was in the hands of a most tyrannical aristocracy, and that Genoa was often almost as much oppressed.

Crossing over to the other side of Europe, we find an hereditary Stadtholder lording it over their 59 high mightinesses the Dutch, whose Republic the omnipotent congress of Verona has, so much against their will, transformed into a Monarchy.

We again meet with a domineering aristocracy in the Swiss Cantons, the only European Republic now existing. I have heard one of the self-styled nobles of Switzerland talk of the common people, in a manner I should have expected only from a Spanish Grandee. But shall we call that state a Republic, in which the liberty of the press has been annihilated, and from whence the mere wish of the despot of Austria has driven away the foreign refugees? We may well exclaim in the language of Lord Byron,

“The name of Commonwealth is past and gone, O'er the three fractions of the groaning globe.”

But let us also recollect the lines that follow:

“Still one great clime, Whose vigorous offspring by dividing ocean Are kept apart, and nursed in the devotion Of freedom, which their fathers fought for And bequeath'd—a heritage of heart and hand, And proud distinction from each other land,— Still one great clime, in full and free defiance, Yet rears her crest—unconquer'd and sublime Above the far Atlantic.”

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This great clime is indeed a Republic. Let us hear the words of the famous declaration of Independence:

“We hold these truths to be self-evident:—that 60 all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.”

Until Representative government was discovered and acknowledged, civil liberty did not, and could not, rest upon any firm basis. Even this great discovery was some time in arriving at any thing like perfection: for man is so prone to usurp authority, and to lord it over his fellows, that the liberties of the people were found to be endangered if even freely elected representatives and governors were not often changed, and always held accountable for their actions. This principle, now so well understood, forms the basis of the government of the United States.

The Confederation consists at present of twenty-four States; each of which is sovereign and independent, enacting laws, regulating taxes, making improvements, &c. &c., as far as regards its own individual welfare. These States have, by the constitution, 61 given certain powers to what is termed the General Government, for the purpose of regulating their commerce and their transactions with foreign powers, and of enacting laws in all cases where the interest of the whole Union is concerned. The General Government only requires that whatever alterations the inhabitants of each State may think proper to make in their own constitution, it must always remain Republican.

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The General Government consists of two councils, composed of the deputies of the different States. One of these councils is called the Senate, the other the House of Representatives; and both together form what is commonly termed the Congress. The executive part of the government is administered by a President, Vice-President, and four Secretaries.

“* The President must be thirty-five years of age, fourteen years a resident in the United States, and a natural born citizen. In case of his death, removal, resignation, or inability, the duties of his office devolve upon the Vice-President; and by an act of 1st March, 1792, in case of the removal, death, resignation, or inability of both President and Vice-President, or of the President of the Senate pro tempore; and in case there shall be no President of the Senate, then the Speaker of the House

* Vide National Calendar and the Constitution of the United States.

62 of Representatives for the time being, shall act as President.”

“The legal title of this officer, is the President of the United States; and he is by the constitution commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the service of the United States. He receives ambassadors and other public ministers; and it is his duty to take care that the laws are properly executed. He is empowered, by the advice and with the consent of two-thirds of the Senators present, to make treaties; and, by and with the advice and majority of the Senate, he appoints ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers established by law, whose appointments are not otherwise provided for by the constitution. He commissions all officers of the United States; and may grant reprieves and pardons, except in cases of impeachment. His salary is 25,000 dollars per annum, which cannot be increased or diminished during the term for which he is elected.”

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The President is chosen by Electors from the different States. Each State appoints, in the manner laid down by its own particular laws, as many Electors as equals the sum total of the Senators and Representatives which it sends to Congress. Thus the State of New York sends two Senators and twenty-one Representatives, and therefore appoints 23 Electors. The State of New Jersey sends two Senators and six Representatives, and therefore appoints eight Electors.

No senator, representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, can be appointed an Elector. The Electors, vote by ballot; and in the event of there being several candidates, and no one being voted for by more than half of the Electors, one of the three candidates that have the greatest number of votes is chosen by the House of Representatives. The Representatives vote by States on this occasion, each State having only one vote. The people, however, always try to prevent the election being thus referred to the Representatives, as in voting by States the small States are as powerful as the large.

The President is elected for four years, and there is no restriction as to his being re-elected. But no President has served for a longer time than eight years; and this, indeed, by custom, is almost considered the time for which he is elected, as, after the first four years, his election is not contested. All the Presidents have served eight years except Adams, who, in consequence of his having passed an Alien Law, increased the army in time of peace, and done other acts disagreeable to the people, was turned out by them at the end of his four years.

Adams was at the head of a party calling themselves 64 Federals (the Tories of the United States); but this party, owing to their violent, treasonable, and unconstitutional conduct, during the last war with Great Britain, has made itself generally odious to the people, and is at present almost annihilated.

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“The Vice-President is ex-officio President of the Senate; his salary is 5,000 dollars per annum, and his ordinary duty is to preside in the Senate of the United States. He is elected in the same manner, at the same time, for the same term, and by the same electors, as the President.”*

* Vide National Calendar and the Constitution of the United States.

The Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of the Navy, hold their offices at the will of the President, by whom they are chosen. Each of these Secretaries receives a salary of 6,000 dollars per annum.

I may here remark, that all the salaries given by the people to their public officers are certainly too small and insufficient. The President himself does not receive a higher salary than the English Minister at Washington; and the Secretaries have scarcely more than the British Secretary of Legation. All public officers, who are really useful, should be paid handsomely and liberally—indeed, rather overpaid than underpaid; for it is only at sinecures that a nation has a right to grumble.

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Each State sends two Senators to Congress, who are elected for six years. These Senators are elected by the legislatures of the different States, and not, as is the case with the Representatives, by the people themselves. A Senator must be thirty years of age, and nine years a citizen of the United States.

The Senate, as soon as the members of it had assembled, in consequence of the first election held after the framing the constitution, was divided as equally as could be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class were vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year. This was done, in order that the Senate itself remaining a perpetual body, one-third of its member should vacate their seats every

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second year. All the senators afterwards chosen were, as they are at present, elected for six years.

When a new State is admitted into the Union, it is determined by lot, to which class the new Senators shall belong. This is done to keep up the same arrangement.

The Senate, whenever the President of the United States proceeds to any important nomination, has the power of withholding its consent; in which case the sitting is held with closed doors, and the journal of its proceedings is then secret. It has also a vote in the ratification of treaties, in F 66 which case it is indispensable that two-thirds should consent. The Senate is also a court, for the trial of high crimes and misdemeanours, upon impeachment by the House of Representatives. The Senate keeps up a great deal of dignity in its proceedings; and will not allow, in debate, any of its members to speak disrespectfully of foreign powers, even when they are enemies.

The House of Representatives is composed of members chosen every two years by the people of the several States. The number of people that are entitled to be represented, is settled after every census, which census takes place every ten years. The present number that sends one Representative to Congress is 40,000. Although slaves have no votes, yet three-fifths of them are, in the slave-holding States, counted as whites. Thus, for instance, if a State has 100,000 slaves, three-fifths, or 60,000, are counted as whites, and are added to the number of whites in the State, after which every 40,000 sends a Representative.

Each State settles the qualifications for its own voters; for although allowed to send one Representative for every 40,000, this regulation merely determines the number a State shall send, and it by no means follows that every individual of the 40,000 should have a vote. Thus in Maryland it is necessary that a voter have a freehold of fifty acres of land, or property in the State above the value of 67 thirty pounds current money; whereas in the State of New York, the elections are founded on universal suffrage.

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A Representative must have attained the age of twenty-five years, and have been seven years a citizen of the United States.

"Each Senator and Representative receives for his services, from the public treasury, eight dollars per diem, during the period of his attendance in the Senate or House. The same allowance is made to each for every twenty miles of the usual road in going to and returning from the seat of Government.

"The Congress must assemble at least once in every year, on the first Monday in December, if not otherwise provided for by law. The President of the United States may convene them at any time, upon giving forty days' notice."*

* National Calendar.

Such is the General outline of the Government established by the people of the United States, a Government by far the most perfect that has ever yet existed; inasmuch as it is simple and economical, and at the same time admirably calculated for securing the liberties of the nation.

Our own Government is Representative, though but imperfectly so, I should imagine; for I have been told, though no doubt falsely, that any individual F 2 68 can, in what is termed the borough market, buy for £4,000 a seat in the House of Commons for seven years, as easily as he can purchase a new coach, or a box at the opera. But however this may be, if we take into consideration that the British have been accustomed for ages to a monarch and a nobility, it seems probable that a Republican Government would not suit them so well as their present one. Of course I must be understood as speaking of the British constitution in its theoretical purity, as described by De Lolme, Blackstone, and others, and not as disfigured with rotten boroughs, sinecures, &c. &c.

At the revolution, the United States enjoyed an advantage which has not been duly estimated. This was, that they had scarcely any thing to undo. In all other countries, where

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revolutions have taken place, there has been an aristocracy and a priesthood, naturally adverse to change, and who, after a change had taken place, were anxious, to retain their privileges. But the Americans had the rare good fortune to be free from these evils; and, therefore, their internal government required little alteration. The only question at the revolution was this, "Shall we remain as colonies, or be independent?" and, when this question was decided, every thing went on as quietly as possible.

In England, it was owing to the discontent of the rich nobles and the high churchmen, that the Republican Government was overthrown, and the 69 country subjected to the tyranny of that profligate monarch Charles the Second. The French in their revolution entirely abolished the feudal nobility, and the Roman Catholic priesthood, who have indeed re-appeared, but only, as we may hope, to be finally annihilated.

It must be a most mortifying spectacle to those would-be political philosophers, who have so rancorously maintained that the people must be kept down, and ruled with a rod of iron, as utterly incapable of governing themselves, to see the wisdom and vigour manifested by the cheap and unostentatious Government of the United States. Yes! let those who have so stoutly urged the absurd dogma, "that the people are their own worst enemies," look at the spectacle presented to them by this great Republic, and acknowledge that the experiment of a people governing themselves has there been made, and has succeeded.

Most other governments are maintained by force. In every direction, we meet with soldiers, civil officers, nobles, prelates, and all the other appendages of despotism; while the mass of the people are oppressed, hoodwinked, and plunged into a state of political slavery. But in the United States one looks in vain for any thing of the kind; and a stranger, on going through the country, exclaims, "Where is the Government? what is it? I see nothing of it." It is almost impossible for Europeans to form any idea of this, so profoundly ignorant are they in general of all real liberty.

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After Monsieur Dupont, who acted a distinguished part in the French revolution, had returned to France from America, he was one day asked by the Emperor Napoleon, who was surrounded by many of his marshals, generals, and great officers, what he saw extraordinary in the Government of the United States. "Sire," replied he, "On ne le voit pas, on ne le sent pas." How completely do those few words express the genius of the American Government!

It is, indeed, entirely a Government of opinion. Whatever the people wish, is done. If they want any alteration of laws, tariffs, &c. they inform their Representatives, and if there be a majority that wish it, the alteration is made at once. In most European countries, there is a portion of the population denominated the mob, who, not being acquainted with real liberty, give themselves up to occasional fits of licentiousness. But in the United States there is no mob, for every man feels himself free. At the time of Burr's conspiracy, Mr. Jefferson said, that there was little to be apprehended from it, as every man felt himself a part of the general sovereignty. The event proved the truth of this assertion; and Burr, who in any other country would have been hanged, drawn, and quartered, is at present leading an obscure life in the city of New York, despised by every one.

The good effects of a free Government are visible throughout the whole country. There are no 71 tithes, no poor rates, no excise, no heavy internal taxes no commercial monopolies. An American can make candles if he have tallow, can distil brandy if he have grapes or peaches, and can make beer if he have malt and hops, without asking leave of any one, and much less with any fear of incurring punishment. How would a farmer's wife there be astonished, if told that it was contrary to law for her to make soap out of the potass obtained on the farm, and of the grease she herself had saved! When an American has made these articles, he may build his little vessel, and take them without hindrance to any part of the world: for there is no rich company of merchants that can say to him, "You shall not trade to India; and you shall not buy a pound of tea of the Chinese; as, by so doing, you would infringe upon our privileges." In consequence of this freedom, the seas are

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covered with their vessels, and the people at home are active and independent. I never saw a beggar in any part of the United States; nor was I ever asked for charity, but once, and that was by an Irishman.

Hired and servile writers may abuse as much as they please the people and government of the United States; but fortunately, whatever they may say, they cannot prevent the Americans from advancing by gigantic strides towards the acme of wealth, power, and population. Who can contemplate without astonishment the spectacle they 72 already offer? With a vast extent of territory rapidly covering with population; and with a revenue of 23,000,000 dollars (without direct taxes), and a surplus 3,000,000 dollars after defraying all the expenses of the country* (a phenomenon unknown in Europe); their commerce is so considerable, that America has become the rival of Great Britain herself, and is the only maritime power that can give her any uneasiness. Yet forty-seven years ago, this grand nation consisted only of a few insignificant colonies, supplied in all its wants by the mother country, which, for that purpose, employed but a few ships.

* President's Message, 1822.

No people, in the same space of time, has ever made a hundredth part of the progress; and to what is this progress owing? To freedom.

Albeit many sage Europeans have constituted themselves prophets, and declared, that the federate Republic will fall to pieces; that it will sink into insignificance from the very form of its Government; and that the States will quarrel with one another, and degenerate into monarchies. But, for my own part, I should humbly beg leave to think, that these modern prophets are somewhat inspired by the lying spirit of Zedekiah, the son of Chenaanah.

“The United States owe to the world a great example; and, by the means thereof, to the cause 73 of liberty and humanity, a generous support; they have so far succeeded to the satisfaction of the virtuous and enlightened of every country.”*

* President's Message, 1822.

The constitution of this Republic would be, if it were not for negro slavery in the southern States, a spectacle for gods and men to rejoice at. It must however be confessed, that slavery is a blot of such magnitude and enormity, as greatly to diminish our admiration for the whole system.

Madame de Staël very properly says, "There is a people who will one day be very great;—I mean the Americans. One stain only obscures the perfect splendour of reason which vivifies that country—slavery still exists in the southern provinces; but when Congress shall have found a remedy for that evil, how shall we be able to refuse the most profound respect to the institutions of the United States?"

I shall conclude my remarks upon the Government of this great Republic by quoting the following beautiful lines of Sir W. Jones.

What constitutes a state?— Not high raised battlement or labour'd mound, Thick wall or moated gate; Nor cities proud with spires and turrets crown'd; Not bays and broad arm'd ports, Where laughing at the storm rich navies ride; Not starr'd and spangled courts, Where low brow'd baseness wafts perfume to pride— 74 No— *men* , high minded *men* , With powers as far above dull brutes endue In forest, brake, or den, As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude,— Men, who their *duties* know, But know their *rights* , and knowing dare maintain; Prevent the long aim'd blow, And crush the tyrant whilst they rend the chain. These constitute a *state* — And sovereign law, *that state's collected will* , O'er thrones and globes elate Sits empress, crowning good, suppressing ill.

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CHAPTER V. THE LAWS.

The laws of the United States are, generally speaking, the same as those of England; but in the civil as well as in the penal code, numerous and excellent improvements have

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been introduced; for where the people alone is sovereign, abuses are reformed as soon as they are remarked. In other countries, men are always to be found bigoted in favour of every thing that is ancient, and who consider precedent, however bad, as the safest rule of conduct. Such men are always opposed to reformation, however obvious, and however advantageous to the commonwealth. But the Government of the United States is Republican; and consequently the common law of England, which was transplanted to the colonies by the first settlers, has, from principle as well as from circumstances, been to a certain degree altered.

“We shall not institute this comparison boastingly, however justly we may pride ourselves upon the improvement which we have made in this country upon the common law, properly so called—with whatever emotions of honest exultation we might reasonably point to those improvements. For we apprehend that oftentimes, when professional men among us are bestowing exalted praise upon the 76 common law, they lose sight of the important fact, that the common law of England is radically different from the system that bears the same name in America. The common law, properly speaking, is that in which Hale, and Holt, and Mansfield, and Ellenborough adjudicated,—which Coke and Blackstone commented upon,—which upholds England's government, by king, lords, and commons,—which marks out the jurisdiction of the Courts of Chancery, King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer,—which fixes the rules for the descent of property,—which engendered and perpetuates the *rotten borough* principles of representation,—which authorized the tenure of knights' service, with the rest of the antiquated burdens of the feudal system: for all these things, with a thousand others of the same stamp, are among the peculiar discriminating qualities of the common law, inherent in its very essence, but irreconcilably at war with all our dearest institutions. It is the common law of Virginia, of Massachusetts, of New York, or of Pennsylvania, which Americans must intend when they eulogize the common law; and we unite heart and hand with them in their warmest expressions of veneration for this law; since light does not differ more from darkness, than does this from the common law as flourishing on its native English soil.”*

* North American Review, July 1823. The whole of this article, on the subject of the laws of Massachusetts, is well worth the perusal of those, who wish for copious information on the subject of the common law, as at present in force in the United States.

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The Americans have greatly mitigated the severity of the penal code, so much so indeed, that executions are extremely rare; and besides this, so mild is the system adopted by the executive power, that the President generally remits the punishment, unless the crime committed be of uncommon atrocity. Although one cannot but admire the humanity that prompts the saving a fellow creature's life, yet I think myself, that the law ought to have its course, and that punishment should, in all cases, follow condemnation; for when a criminal is led to hope that he may escape by the humanity of the President, the terror of the law has less influence upon evil doers, and crime is thereby, to a certain degree, encouraged.

A great improvement is just about to be made in American jurisprudence; viz. the abolition of imprisonment for debt. Even at present, in most of the States, imprisonment for debt exists more in name than in reality. By the insolvent laws, which are perhaps too much in favour of the debtor, his person in ten, or at most in thirty days, is for ever released, on a surrender of his property to a trustee appointed by the court. In the mean time, on giving sufficient security, he is entitled to perfect freedom within the prison bounds, which frequently comprise half the town or county in which he resides. There are not perhaps, during the year, in any one State, more than ten instances of actual incarceration.

The forms of English practice are strictly observed, as relates to the distinction of actions; but the severity of pleading has been mitigated in every State, by statutes of amendment. Still, however, sufficient of the antiquated jargon remains, to justify the reproach, that the improvements in the administration of justice have not been in any way proportionate to those in government and politics. As an instance of this, I may mention, that in the

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nineteenth century, John Doe and Richard Roe are still retainers in court, to the disgrace of a nation, which professes to have shaken off the prejudices of the mother country.

Yet it must be acknowledged, that important advances have been made in the principles, if not in the practice of the law. Entails have been abolished in every State. A man may, indeed, make any will that he pleases; but if he die intestate, his property is equally divided amongst his children, without distinction of age or sex. Many persons therefore make no wills; they say, "the State has made one for us, and will see it executed." Now it is the opinion of David Hume, that to the division of property occasioned by the Reformation, and to the prevalence of democratical opinions under the commonwealth, Great Britain owes that vigour of natural character, by which 79 she has ever since been so eminently distinguished. It is clear therefore, that, as the subdivision of property prevails to a greater extent in the United States, the happiness of the Americans is Americans is proportionally secure.

In both civil and criminal prosecutions for libel or slander, the truth of the allegation is admitted as a reason for acquittal.

In every State, but that of Virginia, real estate is liable for debt.

There are of course no game law.

The judges generally hold their offices during good behaviour; and in a few States, until they attain the age of sixty. To secure the exercise of their independence and impartiality, their salaries, which are too inadequate in most instances, cannot be diminished during their continuance in office.

The United States are indebted to England for the principal part of their law books; the decisions of the superior courts of that country being considered authority.

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In some States, the common law and chancery jurisdiction are given to the same court, but in most of them, to separate courts. The principles of law, marking the difference between the two jurisdictions, are strictly observed.

It is nearly useless to mention, that since there is no exclusive national church, ecclesiastical courts are unknown.

“The judicial power of the United States is 80 vested in one supreme court, and in such superior courts as Congress from time to time establish. The present judicial establishment of the United States consists of one supreme court, of twenty-eight district courts, and seven circuit courts, which are thus organised. The supreme court is composed of one chief justice and six associate justices, who hold a court in the city of Washington annually; besides which, each of these justices attends in a certain circuit, comprising two or more districts appropriated to each, and together with the judge of the district compose a circuit court, which is holden in each district of the circuit. The district courts are held respectively by the district judge alone. Appeals are allowed from the district to the circuit, and from the circuit to the supreme court; and in some cases, where the inconvenience of attending the court by a justice of a supreme court is very great, the district courts are invested with circuit court powers. Each State is one district, for the purpose of holding district and circuit courts therein, with the exception of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Tennessee, each of which is divided into two districts.”*

* National Calendar.

The supreme court is the highest tribunal of the United States, and decides in all cases in which the General Government is a party, as well as in those in which the parties concerned are of different States.

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An oath is attested in all the courts of the United States, by holding up the hand, and not as with us by kissing the Evangelists.

Political eminence is coveted by the inhabitants of the United States, perhaps more than by any other people whatsoever; and as the practice of the law is the sure road to this, the study of jurisprudence generally constitutes part of a liberal education. Hence also the professors of this science are very numerous, and fill most of the public stations, near three-fourths of the Congress always consisting of lawyers. G

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CHAPTER VI. JOURNEY ACROSS THE ALLEGHANIES.—VOYAGE DOWN THE OHIO.

After a short but agreeable time passed at Washington, I set off for the Western States.

The first place of any consequence that I passed through, was Fredericktown, which, with the exception of Baltimore, is the largest town in the state of Maryland.

The country through which we passed, though thickly settled, and mostly in a state of cultivation, appeared barren and stony; the only fertile spots occurring here and there in the low bottoms, until within a short distance of Fredericktown. On the right, just before entering, stand some old barracks, built by the English before the revolution. The town is neat, and contains many substantial and well-built houses. Its population is 3640, and has every appearance of being on the increase.

From this place to Hagerstown, the road was the worst I ever travelled over, in a wheeled carriage. It was so full of holes and large pieces of rocks, that I am convinced nothing but the lowness of the stage prevented our being upset. But a regular turnpike-road is begun, and will be completed in a year or two.

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The American stage-coach on this road, and indeed upon all other roads on which there is no opposition, is constructed somewhat like the market-carts in the neighbourhood of London, being a long waggon upon springs, with canvass sides and a light wooden top. You enter it from the front, and find in the inside four rows of seats, one behind the other, the first of which is partly occupied by the driver, who is in some measure protected from the rain by the projection of the covering. This vehicle, although an uncomfortable one, seems to be better adapted for travelling on some of the bad stony roads, than any other four-wheeled carriage. The Americans always drive four-in-hand, with the pole very low, and not braced up to the collar as in England. The horses are in general good, and the usual rate of travelling from five to six miles an hour.

The road from Fredericktown is across the Catoctin and South Mountains, and the country on each side is rough and chiefly covered with forest.

Hagerstown is situated in a fine fertile valley, and is a neat though small place. There are two or three handsome churches, besides a very elegant one nearly finished, and intended for the Episcopalians. This sect, as well as that of the Methodists, is far inferior in number to German Lutherans, and even to the Presbyterians. The Court House is an uncommonly elegant building, and would do credit to a city. There is also a handsome G 2 84 Bank, and a large Town Hall. All these edifices are too magnificent and spacious for a small town; but I suppose the inhabitants anticipate its some day becoming a very considerable place.

One thing that particularly struck me in the United States, and which cannot be sufficiently praised, is, that all the respectable inns, even in the little towns, contain a public reading-room; where the papers are fastened to a long sloping desk, by means of a small iron bar down the middle of each file, so as to prevent individuals from taking them away. In the reading-room of the Globe Tavern, at Hagerstown, I found no less than ten different files of papers from different States in the Union.

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There were some excellent maps, by Arrowsmith and Melish, hanging on the walls, as I have found in almost all Taverns. Some of the maps which represented separate States, and which are always on a very large scale, deserve the highest praise for the beauty of their execution. There were also in this reading-room several Reviews and Magazines, and among others, a reprint of the last Edinburgh, which work has a great circulation in the United States.

The road from Hagerstown to Cumberland passes over a great number of small mountains, covered with forest, that have been very little cleared. These mountains abound with game, such as deer, wild turkies, pheasants, partridges, 85 &c, A few miles from the village of Hancock, we put up a large "gang" of wild turkies that was crossing the road. These birds, which I afterwards saw an immense number of in the Western States, are much larger and handsomer, as well as of a more stately gait, than tame turkies. Thier colour is the same as that of the breed which we call the dark Norfolk. Their plumage is the particularly fine, and has a beautiful gloss, very much resembling that of an English starling, and which immediately distinguishes them from the domestic variety, even when dead. I may here mention that the turkey originally came from America, and was unknown to the ancients. Indeed it is now generally allowed by naturalists, that the *Meleagrides* of the Romans were Guinea Fowls.*

* Vide Beckman's History of Inventions.

The advantage of travelling through a country abounding in game, was soon manifested in the improvement of our fare. Roasted partridges, and fine venison steaks, were brought me for breakfast at the very first place at which I stopped.

Cumberland is a thriving town on the Potowmac. It is here that begins that large coal formation which extends throughout the whole country, as far as Pittsburgh and Wheeling on the Ohio. The distance from Washington to Cumberland is 135 miles. It is intended to cut a canal joining the two places; for the Potowmac has several falls, 86 and, like most

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rivers running through mountains, is too shallow in many places, to admit of its being navigated at such a distance from its mouth. This canal will not only be commercially, but also politically useful. Mr. Fulton has remarked, with his usual discrimination and intelligence, that “when the United States shall be bound together by canals, by cheap and easy access to market in all directions, and by a sense of mutual intercourse and mingled commerce, it will be no more possible to split them into independent and separate governments, obliging each to line its own frontier with troops, to shackle its own exports and imports, to and from the neighbouring States, than it is possible now for the government of England to divide and form again into seven kingdoms.”

Leaving Cumberland, I proceeded on the great National Road which crosses the Alleghany Mountains, and which reaches from Cumberland to Wheeling, a distance of 125 miles. The road begins to ascend almost immediately, and passes through a rough and mountainous country, thickly covered with forest, which is chiefly of oak, here and there interspersed with pine and cedar. The underwood is generally very thick, the spare ground between the trees being covered with large mountain Laurel (*Kalmia Latifolia*). This is so abundant and luxuriant in some places, that the woods seem almost impenetrable. Deer, bears, wolves, wild turkies, and indeed all kinds of wild animals, ⁸⁷ are uncommonly plentiful in these mountains, owing to the rocky nature of the ground, which will in all probability prevent its being cultivated for centuries. It is only at considerable intervals, that even by the road side, a small spot of settled or cleared land can be seen, while at a distance from the road, the country is perfectly “wild.” Another circumstance that in a great measure preserves the large game, is that during the summer and autumn these mountains are so terribly infested with rattlesnakes, that the hunters are not much disposed to enter the woods.

Some of the mountains in the State of New York, where it borders Connecticut, are similarly infested; so that the grouse which abound in them, are as I am told, preserved from the gun of the sportsman, till the beginning of winter. The rattlesnakes then retire in great numbers to a den or hole in the rocks, where they remain coiled up and torpid, to the

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number often of a hundred or more, until the return of the spring. On the Negro mountain, twenty-five miles from Cumberland, and close to the road side, was a den of these reptiles; and a man living within a very short distance of the place informed me, that when he first went there, he has seen, on a warm summer morning, a dozen or two together at the spot. As soon as a place becomes settled, these animals disappear; for every hog that runs at large in the woods, is the mortal enemy of all kinds of snakes, which he 88 devours without ceremony whenever he finds them, being protected from the dangerous effects of their bites, by the thickness of his skin, and by the covering of fat that is under it. Hence between the hogs and the settlers the snakes are soon exterminated.

While the stage was stopping a short time in order to water the horses, and to allow the passengers to take some refreshment at a small inn on this mountain, I observed that two hunters, who had just come in with some turkies they had killed, were each of them carrying one of the long heavy rifles peculiar to the Americans. As one of them, an old man, was boasting of his skill as a marksman, I offered to put up a half-dollar at a distance of fifty yards, to be his if he could hit it. Accordingly I stepped the distance, and placed the half-dollar in the cleft of a small stick, which I thrust into the ground. The hunter, slowly raising his rifle, fired, and to my great astonishment struck the half-dollar. This was the first specimen I had seen, of the unrivalled accuracy with which the American hunter uses his rifle, and which I had afterwards still greater reason to be surprised at when in Kentucky.

At the little town of Smithfield the road crosses the Youghiogeny a considerable river, the banks of which are rocky and picturesque. In the neighbouring mountains, abundant veins of coal appear at the very surface of the ground, so that many 89 people dig it and burn it, although surrounded by so much wood.

Close by the road side, a little beyond Smithfield, I came to the place where General Braddock was buried, after being defeated and killed by the French and Indians. This disaster was occasioned by his rejecting the advice of Washington, who then commanded the Virginian Militia.

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The Laurel Mountain, so called from the great quantity of the Mountain Laurel growing on it, is the highest point which the National Road attains in passing the Alleghanies. From hence there is a most beautiful and extensive view towards the west.

A very rapid descent of four miles brought us to Union, a small town situated at the foot of the mountain; after passing which the country becomes much more level, is more thickly settled, and is in general well cultivated.

As the neighbourhood of Brownsville, a small but thriving town situated on the Monongahela, abounds with coal, several manufactories have been established there; and one of glass is in a very prosperous condition, and is no doubt very profitable to the owners. The Monongahela is a very considerable river, which has its source in the Alleghanies, and joins the Ohio at Pittsburg. Steam-boats from the Ohio occasionally ascend the river as far as Brownsville. From this place to Cumberland there will be a great deal of commerce, 90 when the Potowmac canal is made; as produce from the Ohio will then be taken to Washington and the Atlantic cities by water, except from Brownsville across the mountains, which is a distance of only seventy-two miles.*

* Since my return from America I have been informed, that in consequence of the discovery of a very copious spring of water near the top of this part of the Alleghanies, the canal will be continued over the mountains, so that all land carriage will be obviated.

The country, after leaving Brownsville, is in some places pretty well cleared, and appears fertile.

On the road I met vast droves of hogs, four or five thousand in a drove, going from the State of Ohio across the mountains to the Eastern States. Afterwards, when in Kentucky, I was informed that upwards of 100,000 hogs had been driven from that State alone. Owing to the quantity of nuts, acorns, and mast, throughout the Western States, a great number

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of these animals are allowed to run at large in the woods, are bred at little or no expense, and when fat are sold in the Eastern States for about five dollars a-piece.

The road became worse and worse all the way from Brownsville to Wheeling. The truth is, that as travellers coming from the Atlantic cities, with the intention of descending the Ohio and going into the Western States, prefer this road to the one which leads from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, 91 and which was made by the State of Pennsylvania, the traffic of the Pennsylvanian "turnpike" is very much diminished; and therefore all the people of that State, as well as of many of the other States, who do not derive any immediate benefit from it, are opposed to any grants being made by Congress for keeping it in order. Thus, for the want of a few thousand dollars expended annually, this great national undertaking was allowed to go very much out of repair. It would indeed in a year or two have become entirely impassable if, as I was informed on my return from the West, the advocates for internal improvements had not made a great effort, and obtained a grant of 25,000 dollars. This however is by no means enough for repairing the road at present, whereas a few years ago the same sum would have been more than sufficient.

Wheeling is situated on the left bank of the Ohio, at the foot of a very high cliff. I found it but a small town, and owing to its manufactures extremely dirty; but it is soon likely to become a place of considerable importance, from the great quantity of merchandise brought to and from the Ohio along the National Road.

Excellent coal is in such abundance on the bank of the river that it only costs four cents a bushel. The great coal formation, beginning at Cumberland, and passing through the mountains to Pittsburg 92 and Wheeling, at which latter place it crosses the river, extends for a considerable distance into the State of Ohio. Wherever it had been found necessary to cut a few feet below the surface of the ground, in order to make the road more level, I observed veins of this most useful mineral.

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The French, at the time they possessed Canada, called the Ohio, on account of its beauty, La Belle Rivière. It is formed by the Alleghany and Monongahela, which meet together at Pittsburg, ninety-eight miles, by water, above Wheeling. The Alleghany is navigable for near 200 miles above Pittsburg, and the Monongahela as far as Brownsville, 147 miles from the same place. From Pittsburg to its junction with the Mississippi, the Ohio is 1121 miles in length, and, during a great part of the year, is navigable for steam-boats of considerable burden. This mighty stream generally retains the breadth of about 500 yards, throughout the whole distance of 705 miles from Pittsburg to the Falls, from which to its junction with the Mississippi it gradually increases to the breadth of 1,000 yards, receiving, on either side. many navigable rivers, which spread throughout all the Western States.

I embarked on board a steam-boat at Wheeling, about fifteen miles below which town, and near Grave Creek, is a large mound of earth called, the Big Grave. It is almost seventy feet high, and from the size of the trees growing on it, must be 93 of considerable antiquity. It was probably erected over some great warrior, before the whites came into the country. I have been shown several of these graves or barrows, of a smaller size, but could never learn that any thing very remarkable had been found upon opening them; the greatest curiosities discovered being a little sunbaked pottery and a few stone axes, which sadly disappointed the searchers after western antiquities. When in Kentucky, I was informed by an old man, one of the first settlers, and who had been well acquainted with the Indians, both in peace and war, that their custom, when a great chief or warrior died, was to bury him close to the side of a warpath, and throw a heap of earth and stones over him. Whenever the nation is to pass that way, each man shoulders a large stone, and on his arrival, throws it upon the grave as a mark of respect. Of course very large mounds have sometimes been made by the performance of this funeral duty.

Eighty-three miles below Wheeling stands the little town of Marietta, at the mouth of the Muskingum, a considerable river that falls into the Ohio from the N. W. In common with most of the towns situated on the Ohio, Marietta had been terribly afflicted with

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an epidemical fever, a short time before I was there. The Muskingum is navigable for large boats 110 miles from its junction with the Ohio, and for small boats, forty-five 94 miles further. From thence, by a portage of one mile, a communication is opened to Lake Erie by the Cuyahoga river, which, at its mouth, is large enough to receive vessels of a considerable size. The citizens of Ohio have it in contemplation, to join, by means of a canal, either these two above-mentioned rivers, or, as seems more probable, the Big Sciota and the Sandusky; which will effect a complete course of inland navigation from the Gulph of Mexico, up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, through the great lakes, and so into the Gulph of St. Lawrence.

Just as the steam-boat arrived opposite Blennerhasset's island, one of the boilers, which had been several times out of order, began to leak so much, that it became necessary to stop, and allow it to cool, in order that it might be mended. Most of the steam-boats on the river, prefer the high pressure engines, in order to save a little in the first cost; though I am convinced, from their constantly wanting repair, that in the long run they are by no means so economical, as those of the low pressure. Of course, the chance of accidents is alarmingly increased; particularly as the captains, wishing to perform their voyage in as short a space of time as possible, are apt to compress the steam to the very utmost. Not long before I descended the Ohio, one of these boats blew up in the mouth of Cumberland river, and killed twelve passengers.

As repairing the boiler detained us a day, I 95 amused myself by going on shore in order to examine the surrounding country. On the Ohio side of the river was a very large and comfortable farm-house, the owner of which received me with the greatest hospitality, and presented me with some fruit of a most excellent flavour. Belonging to the establishment was a large horse-mill. A pair of horses were fastened to a bar by the head, and turned round by their weight a large wheel beneath their feet, which was inclined to the horizon at an angle of about 25°. This is a great improvement over the common horse-mill, in which the animal is obliged to walk round.

Returning to Blennerhasset's island, to the shore of which we had fastened our boat, I went out with a gentleman squirrel shooting. I could scarcely believe my eyes, when I saw the immense number of these animals, who were busily employed in destroying a field of Indian corn, and who, on our approach, took refuge in the neighbouring thicket. We shot eleven out of one tree; from which also several others, alarmed at the noise of the rifles, jumped out and escaped. These little animals had that year done incalculable mischief to the Indian corn, throughout the States of Ohio and Indiana. They also swam the Ohio river by myriads, and ravaged the shores of Virginia and Kentucky. I found that this host of squirrels had in many places destroyed the whole crop, and that the little fellows were sometimes seen, three or four upon a stalk, fighting for the ear. In parts of Ohio, the people attempted to destroy them by means of guns, dogs, and clubs. One party of hunters, in the course of a week, killed upwards of 19,000. In most places however, there were such multitudes of them, that the inhabitants quite despaired of being able to rid themselves of this plague. Whole legions of these animals when crossing the river were killed by boys and dogs; but their numbers did not appear to be sensibly diminished, until they came to the open and cultivated parts of Kentucky, where, as they had no longer the trees to take shelter in, they were easily destroyed. The farmers with whom I conversed, told me that the oldest settlers had never recollected seeing so many. But about fifteen years before they were almost equally plagued; and they knew, from seeing the black or Canadian squirrel, that they were to expect vast multitudes; since the animals of this species do not make their appearance, unless in times of the failure of the mast, nuts, &c. in the North-western forests.

The people are very fond of the flesh of the squirrel, roasting it, and making it into pies, soups, &c.; and indeed, for my own part, I do not think I ever tasted more delicate or delicious meat.

The squirrels I saw were of the black and grey species, which are larger, and have much more bushy tails, than the red squirrels of England. I am astonished the people do not

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make any use of 97 their skins, as both the grey and black have a remarkably fine and glossy fur. Any one wishing to make use of them might have collected millions.*

* There is a curious fact in the natural history of the squirrel, which I do not recollect to have seen mentioned by any author. *Senioribus juniores castrantur*. Several of the hunters assured me that they had often seen the old males pursuing the young ones, and then most dexterously performing the operation with their long front teeth. But I myself thought the circumstance so very unlikely, that I did not believe them, until, upon examining the squirrels I shot, I found to my great surprise that many had apparently suffered the above-mentioned deprivation.

Blennerhasset's island is celebrated as being the spot, where Burr and the other conspirators used to meet, when organizing their mad scheme, of usurping the supreme authority over their fellow citizens of the Western States.

On this island are several enormous plane-trees, which to the west of the Alleghanies attain a very considerable size, and may be termed the giants of the Ohio. They are usually, at about the height of a man's breast from the ground, from twelve to fifteen feet in circumference; though I have measured some that were thirty feet, and hunters have assured me, that in the interior of the forests there are many even larger. They often rise to the height of seventy or eighty feet, before they put out a single branch. In the autumn, when the outer bark peels off the branches, they present a most curious spectacle; all the tops having the appearance of being white-washed.

In this part of the United States, the wild vine grows in great abundance, and to a prodigious size, one I measured being more than a foot in circumference. I have often seen them growing from three to four yards from the foot of one of the enormous planes, and never touching the tree that supported them, until forty or fifty feet from the ground, the vine gradually approaching the trunk, and presenting somewhat the appearance of the shrouds of a ship. An Irishman, who was asked for an explanation of this extraordinary

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circumstance, is reported to have said: "Sure, don't you see that the vines begin to grow at the top of the tree, and take root when they touch the earth." These vines are of various species, and are extremely luxuriant, stretching across from one tree to another. Some of them produce very large and well-flavoured grapes, which might no doubt be greatly improved by cultivation.

After the steam-boat was refitted, which operation occupied eighteen hours, we again began to descend the river, and, at 151 miles from Wheeling, passed a great rock on the bank, called "The Rock of Antiquity." The boatmen told me it was covered with figures, but I am sorry to say we did not pass near enough to see any of them.

About 200 miles below Wheeling, at the mouth of the great Kenhawa, we came to a little village 99 called Point Pleasant. This spot is celebrated for the great battle fought in the autumn of 1774, between the Virginian militia, and the united tribes of the Shawanees, Mingoos, and Delawares. It was the most bloody battle that has ever been fought with the Indians. Several hundreds of the Virginians were killed; and both parties retreated, the Virginians falling back, and the Indians crossing the Ohio with their dead and wounded. It appeared that they wished to make a great effort before being driven beyond that river.*

* It was after this battle that Logan made his celebrated speech, for which see Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, and the notes to Gertrude of Wyoming.

The great Kenhawa is 400 yards wide at its junction with the Ohio, and is navigable for a great distance. By a portage of a few miles over the mountains, a communication may be effected with James' river, which falls into the Atlantic at Hampton-roads, on the coast of Virginia. On the Kenhawa there are some very large salt-works, which supply a great portion of the Western States. The salt-water is so strong, that from 100 to 130 gallons is sufficient to make a bushel of salt. To prevent this water being mixed with several veins of fresh water that are met with above it, tin pipes are inserted into it from the surface of the

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ground, at a distance of sixty or eighty feet bored perpendicularly through the solid rock. I was informed, H 2 100 that from 500 to 600 bushels are made there daily.

After passing the mouth of the Kenhawa, the banks of the Ohio became more mountainous and picturesque. All the hills abound with coal, which, as it often appears at the surface, and in many places is only 50 or 100 yards from the water's edge, the inhabitants of the neighbourhood dig out, and send down in flat-bottomed boats to Maysville and other towns on the river, where they can sell the coal for a less sum, than would be asked for the mere cutting and carrying of timber.

During our voyage we passed a great many flat-bottomed boats. Some of them were small, and merely contained an emigrant family and its furniture. These poor people, either New Englanders or foreigners, build one of these boats upon arriving at the banks of the Ohio, and commit themselves to the stream. Many being too poor to buy land, look out for some spot on the Mississippi or its tributary rivers, where they may remain a short time and clear the ground. Then, if they can make a little money, they give it to the proprietor for the land on which they have placed themselves. But if it is ever claimed, and they cannot raise the sum required, they re-embark their little all, and float off to some other place, where they either buy a small tract of land, or 101 again "squat,"* without permission, trusting that it will be some time before they are interrupted.

* This settling on land which belongs to another person, and clearing and cultivating it without leave, is called Squatting. The Squatters are held by the landed proprietors in the greatest possible abhorrence.

Some of the emigrants who were better off, were going to the Missouri and Illinois; and their boats, besides their family, &c. &c., contained also a small waggon, and two or three horses. These boats are built in the shape of a parallelogram, whose sides are in the ratio of three, four, or even five to one. They are planked up on each side and behind, and are protected by a slightly curved roof made of thin boards, their height being in the interior

about that of a tall man. The upper part of the front, and a few feet of each side near the front, are left open like a sort of balcony, into which a number of children would run from the interior, to look at the steam-boat as it passed them. From this opening project two long oars, which serve to steer the boat, and, in case of necessity, to move it out of the way either of a sandbank, or of a mass of drift wood. Each boat is often divided into two or more apartments, one of which has a fire place and a chimney; so that each of these strange habitations might not inappropriately be termed, a floating cottage.

The larger sort, which, although of about 150 102 tons's burthen, are built precisely on the same plan, are called Kentucky Arks, and indeed they contain almost as great a medley of eatables, furniture, animals, &c. &c. as ever Noah could have stored into his miraculous vessel of Gopher-wood;—horses, pigs, poultry, apples, flour, corn, peach-brandy cider, whiskey, bar-iron and castings, tin, and copper wares, glass, cabinet work, chairs, millstones, grindstones, nails, &c. &c. These arks are navigated from the Ohio, down the Mississippi to New Orleans, touching at the small towns in their way, and if possible disposing of a part of their multifarious cargo. From New Orleans the boat-men find their way back again, either by land, travelling part of the way through the Indian nations, or else by water in some steam-boat. The ark itself is sold for the mere value of the wood it is built of.

We stopped a few hours at a small village called Portsmouth, situated at the confluence of the Ohio and the Big Sciota. This river is navigable for 200 miles; and, by a portage of four miles, which is to be obviated by a canal, goods can be conveyed to the Sandusky, a considerable river falling into Lake Erie.

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CHAPTER VII. LEXINGTON—FRANCKFORT—LOUISVILLE—CINCINNATI.

I was much pleased with my voyage down the Ohio, which is indeed a most majestic river. The vast trees, some of which cover the neighbouring hills and mountains, while others

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are growing almost out of the water, present a scene that is quite novel to the eye of an Englishman.

Nothing can impress the mind with a stronger idea of the amazing importance of the steam-engine, and of the æra which its invention will form in the history of the world, than its enabling one to descend such a river as the Ohio, in so agreeable a manner. I found myself navigating a stream, which runs for the most part through a country remaining in a state of nature; yet I fared excellently, was surrounded with every accommodation, and at the same time was proceeding night and day, at such a rate, that places far removed from one another, seemed almost brought into contact. I disembarked on the Kentucky side of the river, at Maysville (otherwise called Limestone) 370 miles below Wheeling.

Maysville is situated at the foot of a very lofty ridge of hills. It is a town of considerable traffic, but from its extreme dirtiness is an unpleasant place to stop at.

During the fine weather, a sort of stage-coach 104 goes regularly from hence to Lexington; but it cannot be depended upon during the autumn and winter, which latter season was beginning to set in when I was at Maysville. The roads being very bad, I determined to buy a horse, and indeed riding is the only practicable and safe manner of travelling through most of the Western States. I knew, moreover, that beyond Lexington I could not have proceeded otherwise. For this determination I had afterwards reason to applaud myself, as the road was beyond all comparison the worst I had ever seen. It was full of holes, and in many places nearly up to the horse's knees, in mud intermixed with large stones and pieces of rock, which seemed as if put there on purpose to annoy equestrians. To convey any idea of such a road by mere description is impossible. Moreover, the road is a *natural* one, that is to say, it is a track left open and cleared, but which has never had a single cart load of gravel or stones thrown upon it. Add to this, a great many heavily laden waggons are obliged to travel over it, when carrying goods to Lexington. The natural roads are, of course, worse than usual, if, as was the case here, the country through which they run, is fertile.

Notwithstanding I got up at day-break, and rode till it was dark, during which time I only stopped an hour and a half to rest and feed my horse, yet I found it impossible to proceed more than from thirty to thirty-five miles in the twenty-four hours. Not to mention the badness of the 105 road, my journey was impeded by several creeks and rivers of no inconsiderable depth. On coming to one of them after a fall of rain, the traveller is obliged either to halt or to swim; for in the whole distance between Maysville and Lexington, there are only two bridges.

Twenty-five miles from Maysville, I came to the Blue Lick, where there is a spring so strongly impregnated with sulphur, that, in descending the hill, near a quarter of a mile from it, I perceived the disagreeable smell which it emitted.

The spots called "Licks" are common in all the Western States, and particularly in Kentucky. Deer and buffalo* used to resort to these places in great numbers, for the sake of the salt which abounds in them, and which the animals obtained by *licking* the earth, a great quantity of which they swallowed at the same time. In this manner, they have often *licked* such considerable holes, that at first sight, it is difficult to believe they could have been thus formed. In the more wild and unfrequented parts of the country, these spots are still the favourite resorts of the deer.

* The animal called the buffalo by the Indians and the Americans is the Bison. Some of my readers may have seen one exhibited in London, under the absurd name of the Bonassus.

The Blue Lick is situated in a hollow, surrounded with wooded hills; and the country, for several miles immediately round it, is not cultivated, owing to the rocky nature of the ground.

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The water holds in solution not only sulphur, but also a great deal of common salt, or muriate of soda: and as it is much esteemed for the cure of cutaneous and other diseases,

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many sick persons come to it. Even when I was there, and when there were only two very indifferent houses at the place, I was informed that it was visited by several families every summer.

An old hunter told me, that forty years ago, he had seen several thousand buffalo assembled at the spring at one time. The roads they made, in going from, and coming to, the place, are still very visible: indeed, part of the present road is on an old buffalo trace. But so much has population increased, and cultivation been extended, that at present there is not a buffalo within five or six hundred miles. The neighbourhood, however, abounds in deer and turkeys, which afford excellent sport for a hunter.

Not far from hence the road passes through the spot where a bloody battle was fought between the first settlers and the Indians. Further on, about eighteen miles before arriving at Lexington, I came to Paris, a very thriving town, containing about 1400 inhabitants.

The country on each side is pretty well cultivated, and the land is remarkably fertile. Here the Indian corn grows from eight to twelve feet high, the bears several ears on each stalk. The average produce of the fields per acre, is from 107 thirty-five to forty-five bushels of Indian corn, and from fifteen to twenty of wheat. This, considering the negligent manner in which the land is cultivated, compared to what it would be in England, is very considerable.

Lexington is the largest and best built town in Kentucky, and contains about 5000 inhabitants. There are many manufactories here, but they have latterly rather declined, as the whole country is inundated by the importation of British goods.

Lexington not only contains several good churches and a court-house, but also a college, called the Transylvanian University, and which is by far the best of all those west of the Alleghany mountains. When I was there, a great many students were resident; and indeed it was chiefly owing to this influx of young men, that the town had not suffered more, by the great distress, occasioned by the abuse of a paper currency.

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The celebrity of this college may be principally attributed to the talents and exertions of Mr. Holly the President. This gentleman, a New Englander by birth, threw off, at an early age, the puritanical superstition of his ancestors, and embraced Unitarianism. He has, in consequence, endured a violent persecution from his neighbours.

Fanaticism has indeed very much deserted New England, its ancient strong hold, in order to take root in the West; but, like all other weaknesses of the mind, it must gradually be annihilated by the increasing prevalence of education. At any rate I am sure, the reader will be as much rejoiced as I am, that in the United States, religious equality is so firmly established, that the Government, even if it wished, cannot assist any individuals in persecuting a man for his want of faith.

The college which Mr. Holly raised from nothing to its present state, continues to increase in numbers and reputation; and, of course, his fame increases with it, in spite of the efforts made by the Puritans, Presbyterians, and other bigoted sects, to injure him in the public estimation.

But the University appeared to me to be greatly deficient in discipline, without which no literary establishment can possibly arrive at eminence. This want of discipline is the prevailing fault in all the American colleges, partly owing to the want of authority in the professors, and partly to the early age at which many of the students are admitted, and which has occasioned many of the colleges to degenerate into mere schools.

Lexington can boast of a considerable female academy, where, among other accomplishments, the learned languages are taught. It seems, indeed, to be the wise determination of the Americans, to improve the ordinary course of female education.

I am aware that men in general sneer at a well-informed woman, calling her a blue stocking, and seeming to envy her the acquirement of solid knowledge; but for my own part I admire those ladies, who have strength of mind enough to disregard these

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sarcasms, and who are confident in themselves that they are extending the field of their rational enjoyments. As to the rest of the sex, their minds are rather contracted than enlarged, by the frivolous accomplishments to which their education is too often confined. Women are, indeed, inferior to men in physical strength; but from their leading a much more sedentary life, they seem particularly qualified to enjoy literary pursuits.

Nothing is more astonishing than the rapid rise and progress of the Western States in the scale of civilization. The spot on which Lexington stands, was forty years ago, a complete wilderness, inhabited only by the buffalo and elk, and made use of, by the wild Indians, as a hunting ground.

In my road to Franckfort, the seat of Government for the State of Kentucky, I stopped at the Half-way-House, kept by an old man of the name of Coles, one of the first settlers in this State.

Here, while I sat during the evening, by a hearth heaped up with blazing logs, three or four feet in length, and nearly as many in circumference, I listened with great delight to the anecdotes, with which my landlord wiled away the time.

“The Indians,” said the old man, “are a very grave people, and very seldom laugh, or express astonishment at any thing. When, however, they do laugh, they laugh most immoderately. To illustrate this, I will mention a fact which took place soon after our coming here.

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“The early settlers were obliged for defence, to live in forts, made of logs and earth, which they called *stations*. Round these stations, the Indians constantly lurked, in order to surprise, and get a shot at the settlers, and, after killing a man, retreated into the woods where it was useless to follow them. Whenever therefore, those in one station wished to send a message to those in another, the messenger, upon arriving within a quarter of a mile of his destination, used to raise a whoop in order that his friends might know he was

coming, and might open the gate immediately; for if he stopped, even but a moment, he was almost sure to receive the bullet of some lurking Indian. Now, in the neighbourhood of the fort where I was," continued the old man, "some of these uncivilized beings observed our practice, and accordingly stretched across the path, within a couple of hundred yards of the fort, a small vine, so as to come up to the breast of a man on horseback. In a short time, a messenger they knew we expected, came on, raising his whoop, and galloping for the open gate as hard as he could; but not seeing the vine, he was thrown from his horse, head over heels. Two Indians immediately rushed out to tomahawk him; but, amused with the success of their stratagem, and the ridiculous way in which the man was thrown, burst into such a fit of laughter, that they fell down, and thus gave the affrighted messenger time to get up, and run into the station."

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Perhaps the reader may have thought this anecdote rather long, but I cannot resist the temptation of giving him another, although it must be preceded by some prefatory remarks.

The early settlers of Kentucky all wore the "hunting-shirt," which is still the common dress of the hunters and backwoodsmen. It is a kind of short loose doublet, reaching about half-way down the thighs, with an upright collar, and a small but full cape. It is kept together in front with two or three buttons or hooks; and is as loose as an English farmer's smock-frock, is fastened round the waist by a broad leather belt, in which hang the tomahawk and hunting knife. Over the shoulder passes another belt, to which is suspended the powder-horn, and the fur-pouch for bullets and wadding. The hunting-shirt is made of coarse blue linen, or (as they call it) linsey-woolsey, and is bound round the collar, cape, cuffs, and edges, with a red fringe. This dress, which is very commodious and serviceable, is one of the most becoming and elegant I have ever seen. Having said thus much about the hunting-shirt, I proceed to the other anecdote.

"Old General Scott and two or three others," said my landlord, "were sitting one evening in a log-tavern, when in came a tolerably well-dressed stranger, from the New England

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States, and called for half a pint of whiskey. The landlord informed him, that he did not sell it in such, small quantities 112 ties. The old General, who was very fond of whiskey, said, 'Stranger, I will join you and pay half; therefore, Landlord, give us a pint of your best.' The whiskey was brought, and the General, who was to drink first, began by saying to the stranger, 'Colonel, your good health.' 'I am no Colonel,' replied the stranger. 'Well then,' said the General, 'Major, your good health.' 'I am no Major,' said the New Englander. 'Then your good health, Captain,' said the General. 'I am no Captain, sir,' said the stranger, 'and what is more, never held a commission in my life.' 'Well then, by heavens!' said the old General, 'you are the first man in Kentucky that ever wore a cloth coat, and was not a commissioned officer.'"

Such were the sort of anecdotes with which Mr. Coles entertained me, and made the evening the most pleasant one I had spent since leaving Washington.

I continued my journey the next morning through a well cleared and fertile country; but I did not think the land so rich as on the other side of Lexington.

Franckfort is a small but neat town, beautifully situated on the Kentucky. Nothing is seen of it, until you come to the edge of a very steep hill, over which the road passes; and then you are almost startled at seeing the town immediately beneath your feet. It is at the bottom of a large natural basin which is intersected by the river.

The Kentucky is navigable during the high 113 waters 90 miles above Franckfort, or 150 from its junction with the Ohio, where it is 160 yards wide. In the Cumberland mountains where it rises, there is a great, abundance of fine coal which is brought down during the *freshets* or high waters.

At Franckfort there is a good wooden bridge, supported on very lofty stone piers. The rain, just before I arrived, had been so violent and incessant, that the river rose fifty-five feet, but owing to the fine high banks did not inundate any part of the town.

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As the legislature of the State was in session when I arrived at Franckfort, I had an opportunity of seeing the manner in which public business is managed in the Western States.

There are two Houses; one of Representatives, the members of which are elected annually; and the other of the Senate, of which the members are elected for four years. The Senators are much fewer in number than the Representatives, and are persons of superior education and respectability. Each house has the power of rejecting a bill proposed by the other, and it must always pass through both before it can become a law.

The supreme executive power of the commonwealth is vested in a chief magistrate, who is styled "the Governor of the Commonwealth of Kentucky." He is elected for four years, and I 114 exercises the same powers in this individual State, that the President of the United States does, over the whole Federal Republic.

The Legislature meets in a large Court House. The hall of the Representatives might be called a very handsome one, if the figures on the walls and ceiling were better executed. The members are quite unworthy of their fine carpet, for they continually spit and squirt tobacco-juice upon it—a loathsome habit, which they think nothing of.

I remained eight days at Franckfort to attend the sittings, and was quite astonished to see every thing carried on with so much order and regularity. I heard some tolerable speeches in both houses, chiefly upon the subject of the currency of the State. Kentucky had been very much embarrassed in its finances by a bad system of paper currency; and as the whole State had been nearly drained of specie, a law had been passed to enable the commonwealth to issue a more respectable circulating medium. This paper, when I was in the State, had suffered a depreciation of fifty per cent. The State was even in want of copper coin; and many private individuals had issued little promissory notes of two and a half, four, and ten cents value, which of course were only accepted by those, who were acquainted with the man who issued them.

The following is a fac simile of one of these notes, the treasurer's signature being omitted.

ACCOMODATION

CASHIER OF THE BANK OF KENTUCKY , pay to J. S. R. or bearer FOUR CENTS,
On account of the *Franckfort and Shelbyville Turnpike Company* , when One Dollar is
presented. Treasurer.

TURNPIKE COMPANY

Hitherto the weather at Franckfort had been remarkably wet; but by one of the sudden changes, common in America, the cold in one night became so intense, that the ponds and stagnant waters were covered with ice several inches thick, and many even of the running streams were frozen. At nine o'clock A. M. of the day after the frost set in (Dec. 3), the thermometer was—2° of Fahrenheit. I never had experienced so sudden and violent a change, and for a few days found it very disagreeable.

I now set off for Louisville, a town situated at the falls of the Ohio. I was two whole days in performing this journey of only fifty-two miles; but the road which had been very muddy, had been afterwards suddenly hardened by the frost, and had become so uneven, as to bear a considerable resemblance to the surface of a Swiss Glacier. I had to walk a great part of the way, leading my horse by the bridle; for the poor animal, treading I 2 116 on the rough sharp projections, walked much as a man would do, if obliged to pass barefooted over broken flints.

Louisville is the most flourishing town in the State of Kentucky, and contains between four and five thousand inhabitants. Its commercial activity is owing to the following circumstance. During the dry season, when the water of the Ohio is low, boats cannot pass down the rapids; so that all the produce, manufactures, &c. coming down from the States that border on that river, or which communicate with it by means of its tributary

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streams, must necessarily be disembarked at Louisville, and carried three miles in waggons.

The grand and remarkable rapids, or “falls” as they are called, are occasioned by a most curious ledge of rocks, which traverses the current. The true bottom of the river below the falls is only a few inches lower than that above them; but owing to this ledge, the water descends twenty-two feet in a distance of little more than two miles. It may easily be conceived, what a superb rush must be made down the slope, by so enormous a body of water as the whole of the Ohio.

The ledge which causes the rapids is chiefly of limestone, and contains a variety of beautiful marine fossils. In one part, there is a large reef of coral and madreporite, which latter substance, from its singular appearance, the people call “petrified wasps' nests.” A geologist might here collect a vast number of very curious and interesting specimens, 117 and at the same time exercise his ingenuity, in speculating, how they could possibly have been formed in such a situation.

The river here is about 1000 yards wide; and I was told that, during still calm weather, the noise of the rapids may be heard by those descending it, at a distance of five or six miles. It has been in contemplation to cut a canal round these rapids, so that steam-boats, and other craft, may pass and repass at all times. This canal, from the flatness of the ground bordering the river, could easily be made, and would be of incalculable utility.

The year I was at Louisville, the town had been most terribly afflicted with a fever, which made a great havoc among those whom poverty or urgent business prevented from removing. This epidemick fever resembles the yellow fever; and, from its prevalence over all the alluvial soil of the Ohio, greatly checks the increase of population.

Most of the steam-boats that ply below the rapids, stop at a little village called Shipping-port, where they take in passengers and cargo.

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The first steam-boat that ever floated on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers was one built by a Mr. Rosewall, and launched at Pittsburg in the month of March, 1817. When we think of the recency of this date, and examine the following tables, we may form some idea of the growing wealth and importance of the Western States. Such a rapid increase of wealth is indeed probably unequalled in the annals of civilization.

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"Estimate of two products, which descended the falls of the Ohio, at Louisville, in the year 1822: being the produce, 1st, of the whole State of Ohio (except the part bordering on Lake Erie); 2dly, of two-thirds of the State of Kentucky; 3dly, of one-half of the State of Indiana; and 4thly, of a small part of the States of Pennsylvania and Virginia.

Estimated tons. Estimated cost in dollars. 12,000 hds. Tobacco 7,500 500,000 10,000—Hams and shoulders green 4,464 350,000 12,000—and boxes of Bacon 2,700 210,000 4,000—Corn meal, kiln dried 1,700 24,000 50,000 barrels Pork 7,000 350,000 4,000—Beef 538 24,000 300,000—Flour 27,000 900,000 75,000—Whiskey 10,800 500,000 5,000—Beans 450 7,500 3,000—Cider 430 9,000 6,000—Apples 400 9,000 100,000 kegs of Lard 2,250 250,000 25,000 firkins of Butter 550 125,000 2,000 bales of Hay 350 2,000 2,000 casks Flax seed, 7 bushels to a cask 360 4,000 3,000 barrels Linseed Oil 400 57,000 5,000 boxes Window Glass 200 25,000 25,000—Soap 560 75,000 10,000—Candles 225 50,000 3,000 barrels Porter 400 15,000 60,000 lbs. Ginseng 27 15,000 50,000—Bees' wax 22 12,500 10 kegs Tobacco 580 60,000 65,000 lbs. Feathers 29 16,000

"There are many articles of Export not included in the above schedule, such as iron castings, salt, gunpowder, whitelead, and other manufactured articles of various descriptions, the amount 119 of which could not be correctly estimated for want of adequate data. The foregoing estimate presents, at one glance, a pretty correct view of the agricultural resources of this section of the country; and, when it is considered, at the same time, that probably not more than one-fifth of the soil embraced in this calculation is now under cultivation, we are furnished with some general data from which to estimate the ultimate agricultural capacity of this section of the country."

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The above statement as well as the following table was politely furnished me by a gentleman with whom I became acquainted at Louisville.

A Table showing the name and tonnage of each steam-boat, employed on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers in the year 1823, together with the place when, and the year in which, it was built.

Names or Steam-boats.	Where built.	No. tons.	When built.
Alleghany	Pittsburg	1819	
Alabama	Fort Stephen's	219	1818
Alexandria	Arkansas	51	
Balize Packet	Pittsburg	50	
Belle Creole	Cincinnati	122	1823
Beaver		136	1819
Cincinnati	Cincinnati	157	1818
Columbus	New Orleans	450	1817
Calhoun	Kentucky	130	1818
Cumberland	Pittsburg	246	1818
Congress	Wheeling	160	1822
Courier	Louisville	119	1820
Dolphin	Pittsburg	146	1820
Eagle	Cincinnati	118	1818
Exchange	Louisville	212	1818
Expedition	Pittsburg	235	1819
Eliza	Cincinnati	66	1821
Elizabeth		243	1817
Fidelity	New York	150	1821
Feliciana	Philadelphia	408	1820
Fayette	Louisville	314	1819
Florence	Clarksville	60	1822
Favourite	Pittsburg	263	1822
Gen. Clark	Clarksville	214	1818
Gen. Pike	Cincinnati	1819	
Gen. Harrison	Louisville	1819	
Gen. Neville	Pittsburg	120	1822
Gen. Green	Cincinnati	305	1820
Heela		124	1817
Hornet		118	
Hope		75	
Henry Clay	Kentucky	190	1819
Indiana			
New Albany		120	1821
Geo. Madison	Pittsburg	198	1817
Louisiana	New Orleans	102	
Leopard	Clarksville	70	
Maysville	Maysville	209	1818
Mobile		145	
Manhattan			
New York		428	1819
Maid of Orleans	Philadelphia	193	1818
Mercury	Steubenville	15	
Missouri	Kentucky	176	
Mandan	Clarksville	127	
Mississippi	Mobile	379	
Miami			
Cincinnati		30	1822
Magnet	Louisville	180	1823
Neptune		50	
Nashville	Cincinnati	194	
Olive Branch	Pittsburg	312	1822
Osage	Cincinnati	144	1820
Paragon	Cincinnati	355	
Post Boy	New Albany	230	1819
Providence	Kentucky	375	1819
Pittsburg	Pittsburg	120	1823
Pennsylvania	Pittsburg	107	1823
Pittsburg and St. Louis	Packet	Pittsburg	120
Ramasso	New York	146	1819
Rifleman	Louisville	230	1818
Rocket	Louisville	79	
Rufus Putman	Marietta	60	1822
Rob Roy	Cincinnati	240	1823
Robert Fulton			
New York		500	1820
Rambler	Pittsburg	120	1823
Steubenville	Steubenville		
Superior			
Steubenville		70	1823
Sciota	Gallipolis	150	1823
Tamerlane	Pittsburg	307	1818
Thomas Jefferson	Wheeling	224	1819
Telegraph	Pittsburg	109	1818
Teeke		295	
Venture	Vesuvius		
Pittsburg		390	1811
Volcano	New Albany	217	1818
Vulcan	Cincinnati	257	1819
Velocipede			
Louisville		109	1820
Virginia	Wheeling	150	1820
United States	Jeffersonville	645	1819

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Making in all seventy-nine steam-boats. Moreover the number of boats is rapidly increasing, as I saw new ones building at Cincinnati and at several other towns.

When I arrived at Louisville, the water was higher than it had been for some years, and in consequence, some of the largest steam-boats had ascended the rapids, which indeed, whenever there is a freshet, become almost imperceptible.

I had intended going straight on to Birkbeck's Settlement in the Illinois, but postponed this journey, on finding that I could first of all go up to Cincinnati in the "*United States*." This Leviathan of the western waters, is of 645 tons burden, and is worked by two very large and powerful engines, acting together so as to dispense with the necessity of a fly-wheel. The accommodations on board were really superb; and the great size of the boat, added to the excellent construction of the engines, entirely prevented that tremulous and disagreeable motion, so common in small steam-boats.

The river, in consequence of the rain, presented a most noble appearance, being in many places nearly a mile wide. This majestic sheet of water was marked in the centre by a large black line of drift-wood, formed by quantities of fallen trees, logs, stumps, and branches: for, after a great fall of rain, the small streams and creeks overflow part of the neighbouring woods, and float off all the timber that has fallen, or that has been cut down. This drift wood coming into the Ohio, forms itself into a line in the most rapid of the stream; and whenever a steam-boat has to cross from one side of the river to the other, generally breaks one or two of the paddles.

Before leaving Louisville, I had been introduced to a Scotch gentleman, who had long been a resident at New Orleans, and who is one of the first merchants there. He formed one of the party on board, and I found him a most agreeable well-informed man. He gave me, for instance, a very entertaining account of the island of St. Domingo, which he had visited during the reign of Christophe. This man, he said, though such a tyrant, was in private life extremely mild; and if the state of his dominions had been more settled, would

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123 certainly not have been so cruel. The following anecdote seems to prove that in the determination and energy of his character, he very much resembled Napoleon.

Christophe had heard, that the hospital for sick soldiers was not well attended to; that the physicians and inspectors cheated the sick of part of their allowance of wine; and that other abuses existed. So very early one morning, and quite unexpectedly, he rode up to the hospital, attended only by two of his aides-de-camp; and having dismounted at the gate, entered the building, and went through all the wards, noting down the state of every thing, and asking questions of the sick. Finding, in this manner, that the reports of abuse were true, he immediately ordered the physicians and inspectors to be flogged and dismissed. After which example of severity the hospital was very well managed, and there were no more complaints.

Christophe had organized a remarkably well clothed and well disciplined army, which was much admired by the strangers who visited the island. He also introduced the Lancastrian system of education; and wishing to change the language of his subjects from French to English, appointed Englishmen only for schoolmasters, and obliged the children to learn that language, and speak it. My fellow-traveller had visited some of these schools, and informed me, that he had seen some of the little 124 boys translating Latin into English with greater facility, than he had ever seen done by boys of the same age in England. He also remarked that their hand-writing was peculiarly beautiful.

Had Christophe lived, he would probably have succeeded in changing the language, but it required a despot like him to effect the change. Boyer has given up the plan, and allows the children the liberty of speaking any language they please.

St. Domingo must be a most interesting country to a philanthropist. What man of feeling indeed can refrain from rejoicing, that this island has emancipated itself from the yoke of nations, calling themselves civilized, and who, nevertheless, have treated the poor Africans with the most intolerable barbarity?

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The Ohio, between Louisville and Cincinnati, is more beautiful than above the latter town; not only because its size is increased, but also because the mountains on its banks present a bolder aspect.

Cincinnati, 163 miles from Louisville, is the largest and most flourishing town in the whole of the Western States. It contains nearly 11,000 inhabitants; and may be called the western capital of the Federal Republic. A more beautiful site can hardly be imagined. Steep and lofty hills touch the river at each end of the town, and encircle it behind, forming one of the most perfect natural amphitheatres I have ever seen. These hills were 125 covered with magnificent forest trees; but the inhabitants, guiltless of any taste for the picturesque, were rapidly extirpating them. An American has no idea that any one can admire trees or wooded ground. To him a country well cleared, that is where every stick is cut down, seems the only one that is beautiful or worthy of admiration.

All the land in the immediate neighbourhood of Cincinnati is without a tree upon it. This is the case with all American towns; which consequently have an appearance of nakedness and coldness that forcibly strikes an Englishman, particularly as before arriving at them, he must have passed through immense forests. When the Americans improve in taste, this indiscriminate destruction of the fine trees will be regretted, for it will take centuries to replace them.

On a hill to the left of the town, and fronting the river, two or three of the old gigantic planes, stretching their long white arms towards the clouds, were still left untouched. I measured one of them at five feet from the ground, and found it upwards of nineteen feet in circumference. Their great height is not less remarkable than their girth, particularly as they grow up like immense columns, not separating into limbs till at a great distance from the ground. I know not what the opinion of the reader may be, but for my part I always look with a sort of veneration at such vast productions of nature; and, I think, that where they can be 126 ornamental, it is little less than sacrilege to destroy them. Nevertheless, as I

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was informed by a friend of mine who went round with me, these giants of the forest will in a short time be cut down, for fire-wood.

The Museum at Cincinnati, though small, is very interesting to a lover of natural history. All the specimens are very neatly arranged. I remarked, among a great many remains of the mammoth, one most superb tusk eight feet and a half long, of astonishing thickness, and in an admirable state of preservation. Among a great variety of fossils, of which there is a fine collection, was a large and most beautiful specimen of the precious opal, formed in a piece of petrified wood.

Mr. D'Orfeuil, one of the proprietors of the Museum, has been engaged in some researches on Parasitical insects. He possesses a most powerful microscope, and has made a vast number of most beautiful coloured drawings; I never indeed have seen insects so well painted. The work would be too expensive to publish in America, even if artists could be found capable of engraving the drawings; but it is a great pity that so curious a work should not be made public. Mr. D'Orfeuil has found parasitical insects on every caterpillar, butterfly, beetle, &c. &c., which he has examined; and the reader will perhaps find some consolation, in being informed, that every flea that bites him, is, in all probability, suffering himself from some little tormenter.

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The college is tolerably built, but is not likely to be well attended until better regulations are established. I was present at a lecture, and was much shocked at the want of decorum exhibited by the students, who sat down in their plaids and cloaks, and were constantly spitting tobacco-juice about the room.

While I was at Cincinnati, a public ball was given at the principal hotel. It was managed by a certain number of patrons, chosen for that purpose, and no person was admitted unless he had received an invitation from one of them. As I was anxious to see such affairs were conducted in the Western States, I felt much obliged to the politeness of a young lawyer

who procured me an invitation. I must confess I was much surprised to find every thing so well arranged. The ball-room was very spacious, and the music tolerably good. Nearly 100 persons were present; and the beauty of some of the ladies could hardly have been excelled in Europe.

The dances were entirely cotillons: indeed scarcely any thing else is danced throughout the United States. A very handsome supper, which was well served up, terminated the entertainment.

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CHAPTER VIII. BIG BONE LICK—BACKWOODS—VINCENNES.

I quitted Cincinnati with regret, as I had been introduced to some very pleasant young men, from whom I received a great deal of kindness and attention.

Having left my own horse at Louisville, I hired another, and crossing the river into the State of Kentucky, took the road to Big Bone lick. This celebrated spot is situated on a small stream that runs into the Ohio, and is fifty miles distant by water, and twenty-one by land, from Cincinnati. The road to it is through a wild and wooded country; though, indeed, I ought rather to call it *pathway* than road, for it is very narrow, and in many places somewhat difficult to find, as it is crossed by several others. The lick, or spring, is situated at the bottom of a natural basin, through which runs the little stream, called Big Bone Creek. The hills forming this basin are high, and covered with forest. The disagreeable smell emitted by the water is very sensibly perceived at a great distance. The following is from an account of it published by Dr. Drake of Cincinnati.

“The waters of Big Bone hold in solution, besides common salt, the muriate of lime, sulphate of soda, and a few other salts of less activity, but 129 no iron. They afford a great quantity of sulphurated hydrogen gas, which is constantly escaping in bubbles. From their effects on sulphates of copper, they appear obviously to contain a certain portion of gallic acid, which is no doubt furnished by the vegetable matter, through which the waters

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rise. The springs are situated near the termination of the back-water of the Ohio, and consequently at a point, where great quantities of twigs and leaves, (most of which, from the nature of the surrounding forests, are of oak,) are brought down by the current and deposited. The temperature of the water is 57°; the taste and smell sulphureous, and very offensive.”

The bottom, whence the spring rises, is covered with a thin coat of marle, beneath which is a bed of very stiff adhesive blue clay. In this blue clay are found the bones of the mammoth, mixed with an innumerable quantity of the bones and teeth of doer, of elk, and of a very large species of ox. The skull of this last animal differs somewhat from that of the bison, or, as it is erroneously called, the buffalo, an animal which, in fact, does not exist anywhere in the whole continent of America. Herds of these bisons, as also of elk,* could be seen not forty years ago in Kentucky; and prodigious numbers of them still range in the prairies of the Missouri K

* Some of these animals, which are very common, I have seen exhibited in London, under the ridiculous name of the Wapeti.

130 and the Arkansas, and throughout the whole of the country between the Mississippi and Mexico.

All the bones found in the blue clay, are in the most perfect state of preservation; and have not in the slightest degree become petrified. After severe rain, when the stream washes away a little of the exterior marle, thousands of the teeth and bones of the smaller animals are exposed to view, and not unfrequently some of those of the mammoth.

It was probably owing to there having been a very heavy fall of rain just before I arrived, that I was enabled to pick up about four inches of the point, and several large fragments of a tusk of this enormous animal. The bones found here are much larger than those of the Siberian or European mammoth.

The vast quantities other bones and teeth sticking out from the clay is quite extraordinary: and it is a scarcely less remarkable circumstance, that most of the mammoth bones are found broken. How indeed could such enormous tusks and thigh bones have been thus injured? It would require a strong man with a sledge hammer to break them at present; and how also could these apparent remains of a Præ-Adamite world have been mixed with such myriads of smaller bones? and why should they all have been deposited in this particular spot?

I have heard several theories, but all of them highly unsatisfactory; so much so indeed, that the lover of the marvellous will probably have recourse ¹³¹ to the old Indian tradition; which, though I am afraid few *savans* will adopt it, I will relate as it was delivered to some gentlemen by an old chief:—"In ancient times," said the Indian, "a herd of these tremendous animals came to the Big Bone Lick, and began an universal destruction of the bears, deer, elk, buffaloes, and other animals, which had been created for the use of the Indians. The Great Spirit above, looking down and seeing this, was so enraged, that he seized his lightning, descended on the earth, seated himself on a neighbouring mountain, on a rock where his seat and the print of his feet are still visible, and hurled his bolts among them, until the whole were slaughtered, excepting the big bull, who presenting his forehead to the shafts, shook them off as they fell; but missing one at length, it wounded him in the side; whereon, turning round, he bounded over the Ohio, the Wabash, the Illinois, and finally, over the great Lakes, where he is living to this day."*

* Jefferson's Notes on Virginia.

I am astonished that some lover of natural history does not search and dig near this spring; for I have not the least hesitation in affirming, that for the expense of a few hundred dollars a complete skeleton of the Antediluvian monarch of carnivorous animals might be obtained. This is a great desideratum, as at present no perfect one is to be found in any collection. The only attempt ^{K 2} ¹³² that has been made was by a Dr. Goforth, a very scientific but very poor man, who expended nearly all his little property, amounting to a

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few hundred dollars, in digging near the spring. Here he obtained such a vast quantity of the bones, teeth, and tusks of the mammoth, as to fill seventeen very large chests, from which, no doubt, more than sufficient to complete an entire skeleton might have been selected.

Unfortunately he became acquainted with a certain Englishman, called Ashe, who taught French for a time at Cincinnati, under the name Arville. This is the same man, who afterwards, to the astonishment of those who knew him at Cincinnati, published three volumes of Travels, which have become in America almost proverbial, for their extraordinary and gratuitous lies. Now this Mr. Ashe persuaded Dr. Goforth to allow him to take the bones to New Orleans, from whence, if they could not be sold there to advantage, he might transport them to Europe. For doing this he was to have a large share of the profits. But poor Dr. Goforth never heard anything more of the bones; and as it is very generally asserted, that Ashe took them to Europe and sold them for a large sum of money, this story has found its way into most of the works, that give any account of the Ohio, or of the neighbourhood of Cincinnati.

But conversing with Mr. D'Orfeuil, one of the 133 proprietors of the Cincinnati Museum, he informed me that he was at New Orleans, when the bones were brought to that place. There Ashe, getting into some pecuniary embarrassment, pledged them to a Monsieur Sainet for several hundred dollars, and then set out for England. Mr. D'Orfeuil added, that as the seventeen chests of bones were very heavy and bulky, they were deposited in a warehouse, in which they were unfortunately destroyed, during a conflagration that took place soon afterwards.

Every naturalist should visit this interesting spot, which may with great propriety be called, the Grave of the Mammoth. For my part I could not help thinking, with what horror I should have passed through the forest, when these huge carnivorous monsters stalked about in its solitudes. How little in those days could naked, savage man, (if indeed he was in existence,) have deserved the name of Lord of the Creation!

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The water of the chief spring rises copiously from a large hollow trunk of a tree, which has been thrust into the earth directly over it. This water is beautifully clear, but its bubbles emit the offensive smell above mentioned. Before the water has run into the creek, it assumes a black inky appearance; deposits a kind of white sediment upon all the bones and pieces of wood exposed to it; and reminds one, both by its smell and appearance, 134 of the foul stinking water that comes from a kitchen.

Great numbers of Opossums are caught in the woods which surround the spring. This curious animal is eaten by many, and esteemed a delicacy. It is always very fat; and “possum fat and hommony:” is a favourite dish with Western and Southern negroes. I had several times resolved to taste a piece of *possum*, having been assured that it was as good as young pig; but just before putting a morsel into my mouth, the thought of the animal's long, naked, prehensile tail, was sure to turn my stomach.

When the Opossum is pursued, and finds it cannot escape, it shams death; and, until struck a blow nearly sufficient to kill it, will allow itself to be taken up, thrown down, or kicked over, as if really dead. Hence it is a common saying in America, when any one is pretending or counterfeiting, that he is “playing possum.”

During the summer months, people from Cincinnati occasionally resort to Big Bone Lick, to drink the waters, which are very efficacious, particularly in cutaneous complaints. To accommodate these visitors, there is a roomy, and tolerably comfortable tavern, kept by a General Wingate.

I must here remark that in the Western States, the tavern keepers are all considerable landed proprietors; and as they have generally a great 135 number of friends and acquaintances, are men of considerable influence.

Now the militia have the privilege of choosing their own officers, and consequently the election very often falls upon the tavern keeper of the neighbourhood. Indeed I have rarely

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stopped at a tavern, in Kentucky, Indiana, Ohio, or Illinois, without finding that the landlord, although clothed from top to toe in buckskin, and not remarkably clean, was at least a captain, and generally a major or colonel. An European however, must not hold these men in derision; for beneath the rough exterior of these American officers, one often finds a man of considerable information and abilities. Moreover they are well adapted to command the militia who serve under them; and in these immense forests, where every tree is a fort, the backwoodsmen, the best sharp shooters in the world, constitute the most formidable military force imaginable. At any rate an Englishman must not laugh at this profusion of military rank; for when in Canada, I found colonels and generals, even more plentiful than in the United States.

From Big Bone I followed the windings of the little creek, till I came to a small log cabin on the banks of the Ohio; and as I could not hear of any steam-boat descending the river, I determined to proceed in the first Ark that passed. I soon hailed one, put off from the shore in a canoe, and having got on board, found that the vessel was 136 bound for New Orleans, and laden with horses, fowls, iron castings, apples, whiskey, &c.

I had often heard a great deal of the Kentucky boatmen, whose manners are notoriously rough. I was in a manner forced to drink whiskey with them; but when they found that I was willing to conform to their customs, they treated me with a great deal of civility. The description usually given of these men, and of which they are rather proud, is, that they are “half-horse, half-alligator, with a cross of the wild cat.”

At New Orleans, where many boats' crews meet together, they are the terror of all the peaceable inhabitants. Their favourite boast, when intoxicated, is as follows:—“I have the best rifle, the best horse, and the prettiest sister of any man in the world; whoever denies it must fight me.” This occasions numerous battles; and should any one interfere and attempt to stop the tumult, they would instantly fall upon the unfortunate peacemaker, saying, “Stranger, I see you want to quarrel: I am your man?”

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I found one passenger already on board. He had originally been the owner of the Ark; but had sold it to a man of the name of Cady, who was now the master. After floating down twenty-two miles, we landed at the little village of Vevay, where I and my fellow passenger accompanied the master of the boat to the only tavern.

Here, as soon as we had finished our meal, and 137 Cady had gone out to try and dispose of his castings, the innkeeper took my fellow passenger aside, and I overheard the following conversation:—

“Sir, I am acquainted with some of your relations, and know them to be respectable honest people: I therefore wish to do you a service. I know the man to whom you have sold your boat. He is one of the greatest rascals alive. He is a thief, forger, coiner, and, in short, every thing that is bad. I would advise you to secure your money and leave him, or at all events to look very sharp to yourself, for there is nothing he will not be guilty of, if it suit his purpose.”

This conversation was not thrown away upon me: I went to the boat, brought away my saddlebags, and wished Mr. Cady good bye, apparently to his great disappointment, as he pressed me very much to go on with him. The man to whom the tavern keeper gave this friendly warning, communicated it to the boatmen, who were by no means the villain's friends; but as they thought they were more than a match for him, determined to proceed.

I was not sorry that I had remained behind, for the delay gave me an opportunity of visiting the Colony of Swiss, who had given to the village the name of their European abode. They have planted some very good vineyards, which they keep in excellent order; but probably owing to the extreme 138 richness of the soil, the wine is but poor stuff; very different from the good Vin de la Côte I have drunk at the original Vevay, on the border of the Lake of Geneva.

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Some of these Swiss have built very good brick houses, which appeared considerably more tidy than those of their American neighbours. They told me they had suffered a great deal from fevers and sickness, and many of them wished themselves back again at their native mountains, which, however barren, are at any rate healthy.

After remaining here two days I embarked in another small flat boat. The men in it were by no means so rough as those I had lately encountered; nevertheless, after I had rowed in the evening to keep myself warm, they ever afterwards considered me as a useful hand, and when it came to my turn, even at night, they would wake me up, with "Come, stranger, it is now your turn to row a little."

As we approached Louisville, I was astonished at the noise made by the rapids. During the night, and when we were six miles off, I heard them so distinctly, that in spite of the assurances of the boatmen, I felt a little uneasy, knowing, that if we were carried down them without a pilot, neither the boat nor its inmates would ever be seen again. As I fared very badly, and was very uncomfortable in my voyage down the river, I was 139 delighted to find myself again at Louisville. Here I met the person who had been my companion in the other boat. He was in pursuit of the rascal of a master, who had robbed him of 400 dollars, the same evening he left Vevay, and had escaped during the night, which happened to be very dark.

After remaining quiet a few days to recover from my fatigue, I mounted my horse, rode down to the ferry below the rapids, and crossing the Ohio, proceeded on my journey to the West.

After the very hard frost, which came on just as I left Frankfort, there had been several days' rain, the usual commencement of winter in this part of the country. The roads in Indiana were almost impassable, even on horseback. The day after I crossed the river, the frost again set in; and the roads becoming worse, I could with difficulty proceed from eighteen to twenty miles between sun-rise and sun-set; having to walk a great part of

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the way, leading my horse by the bridle. The frost had followed the rain so immediately, that the drops were frozen on all the trees, which in the rays of the setting sun appeared loaded with diamonds, and as I rode through the forest, put me in mind of the gem-bearing trees, in the beautiful tale of Aladdin.

At Greenville, a collection of straggling cabins, I stopped at a house kept by a Mr. Porter, a man from the New England States. This tavern, 140 though small, was without exception the most clean and comfortable I had ever been in since I crossed the Alleghanies. Whenever indeed you stop at the house of a New Englander, you are certain to receive more attention, and to find every thing cleaner and of a better quality, than in a tavern kept by a Southern or Western man.

The Western Americans, and particularly those of Indiana, are more rough and unpolished in their manners than those of any country I ever travelled in.

Occasionally, after a long day's ride, when I have arrived cold and tired at the house where I intended to stop, I have dismounted, walked in, and upon finding the master, and perhaps one of his sons, seated by the fire, I have addressed him with, "Sir, can I stay at your house to-night, and have some supper for myself and food for my horse?" and then he has just turned his head round, and without rising, has said, "I reckon you can." Upon further inquiry where I could put my horse, my host has replied, "There is a stable behind the house." I have then had to rub down and feed my own horse.

Those who have not tried this after riding all day, do not know how disagreeable it is. At the same time, I am certain that no kind of incivility was intended. All the people living in the same neighbourhood being nearly equal in point of wealth and education (with little enough of either), are not accustomed to show one another any attention, and therefore extend the same want of ceremony to the strangers who may chance to come to their houses. Besides, in these wild parts, there is often a distance of ten or fifteen miles between each cabin, even on the chief roads; and off the roads, a person might travel fifty

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miles without seeing any habitation whatsoever. A man, therefore, who receives a traveller in his house, and gives him a bed and food, considers with justice, that he confers a favour on his guest, even though he charge some trifle for his hospitality. For let any one imagine the alternative of either sleeping out in a cold night, without any thing to eat, or of staying in a log cabin, by a good blazing fire, with plenty of venison-steaks and corn-cake! Surely the traveller must acknowledge, that the paying about the value of eighteen-pence or two shillings, by no means cancels the obligation which he owes to the landlord.

In speaking of the houses at which I stopped, after crossing the Ohio, I make use of the word Tavern; but let not the English reader be misled by a word; for there is not one of these taverns that deserves to be compared to the common sort of our public houses. I have often laughed to see, fixed upon a miserable log cabin, a rough Sign, on which has been painted "Washington Hotel," or some such high sounding name, though the house probably contained only one, or at most only two 142 rooms. Generally however, both in Illinois and Indiana, there is no Sign at all. A traveller enters without scruple any house near the road side, and breakfasts, or stays all night, even if the owner does not profess to keep a tavern: for every one is glad to have a stranger stop with him, as it gives him an opportunity of hearing some news, and also brings him in a dollar or so, if he chooses to accept any thing for his hospitality.

Owing to the great rise of the water, I found some difficulty in crossing Blue River, over which there was neither bridge nor ferry; and though swimming on horseback is not unpleasant in warm weather, I do not myself think it particularly agreeable during a hard frost. But I fortunately discovered some men with a canoe, in which I crossed over, taking off my saddle and saddle bags, and obliging my horse to swim.

Near this are some pretty extensive "Barrens." The Americans apply this term to those tracts of land, which, being covered with low shrubs and brushwood, much resemble what we call in England "Copses." The country beyond Blue River, is covered for the most part with thick forest. This grows upon a limestone formation; and in consequence, the whole

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country abounds with pits and caverns, some of which are of considerable magnitude. From these caverns great quantities of salt-petre have been obtained.

I now came to a large stream, called "Sinking 143 River," which flows under ground for the distance of nearly ten miles. When there has been a very heavy fall of rain, and the water cannot find room to pass under ground, the overplus runs in a channel above, and joins the river again where it rises from the earth. This upper channel by no means follows the course of the subterraneous one.

The road passes over the upper channel, which is pretty deep, and which, in spite of the quantity of rain which had fallen only five or six days before, was, when I crossed it, nearly dry.

At about sixty miles from the Ohio, I stopped one night at the house of a man called Byrom. He was of the sect of Methodists called New Lights, who hold the doctrine of the sufficiency, and absolute necessity, of good works. (I may lament *en passant* that all sects do not agree in this principle.) Byrom was a very devout man, and before going to bed invited me to prayers. Accordingly he read a chapter of the Bible, which he commented upon; and then, in chorus with the whole family, sung a hymn. He told me that he considered this way of concluding the evening an indispensable duty. Indeed, I have several other times observed the same custom in the Western States.

A few miles from Mr. Byrom's, at a place called French Lick, is a very large pigeon roost. Several acres of timber are completely destroyed, the branches, even of the thickness of a man's body, 144 being torn off by the myriads of pigeons that settle on them. Indeed, the first time I saw a flight of these birds, I really thought that all the pigeons in the world had assembled together, to make one common emigration. These pigeons do a great deal of mischief; for as they clear immense tracts of forest, of all the mast, acorns, &c. numbers of the hogs, which run at large in the woods, are in consequence starved to death.

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When crossing a small stream, the day after leaving Byrom's, I saw a large flock of beautiful green and yellow parroquets. These were the first I had met with; and as they were very tame, and allowed me to come close to them, I got off my horse, and stopped a short time to admire them, I afterwards saw numbers of the same kind in the flats of the Wabash and Mississippi, for this beautiful bird apparently delights in the neighbourhood of streams.

Before arriving at Hindostan, a small village on the East Fork of White River, the country becomes very hilly; and being on that account thinly settled, abounds with game of all descriptions. Some idea may be formed of the abundance of it, from the price of venison at this place, and in the neighbourhood. A haunch will bring only 20 cents (about 1 s. 9 d. sterling), or the value of 25 cents, if the hunter will take powder, lead, or goods. The shopkeepers who buy the haunches, the only parts of the deer that are thought worth selling, cure 145 and dry them much in the same manner as the Scotch do their mutton hams, and then send them for sale to Louisville or New Orleans. These dried venison hams, as they are called, are very good eating.

The two young men who ferried me over the river, had just returned from a hunting excursion. They had only been out two days; and not to mention a great number of turkeys, had killed sixteen deer and two bears, besides wounding several others. The bear is much more esteemed than the deer; first, because his flesh sells at a higher price; and secondly, because his skin, if a fine large black one, is worth two or three dollars.

I was stopped for three days at the West Fork of White River, owing to the ice, which was of such a thickness, and came down the stream with such rapidity, that it was impossible for the ferryboat to cross.

In these thinly settled countries, if a traveller be detained, or if he wish to stop a day or two to rest his horse, he can, if either a sportsman or a naturalist, find abundant amusement. Go to what house I might, the people were always ready to lend me a rifle, and were in

general glad to accompany me when I went out hunting. Hence, in addition to the pleasure of the chase, I had, at the same time, an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the manners of the Backwoodsmen, and with the difficulties and hardships which are L 146 undergone by all the first settlers of a new country. I found I had imbibed the most erroneous ideas, from seeing none of the inhabitants but those who, living by the road side, were accustomed to receive money from travellers, and sometimes to charge as much for their coarse fare, and wretched accommodations, as would be paid in the Eastern States for the utmost comfort a tavern can afford. I therefore considered all the people a sordid and imposing set. But when I began to enter into the company of the Backwoodsmen, quite off the roads, and where a traveller was seldom or never seen, I found the character of the settlers quite different from what I had supposed. In general they were open hearted and hospitable, giving freely whatever they had, and often refusing any recompense. It is true they always treated me as their equal; but at the same time, there was a sort of real civility in their behaviour, which I have often looked for in vain elsewhere.

In the Backwoods, pork, or as they call it hogsflesh, together with venison and hommony (boiled Indian corn), was my usual fare, and a blanket or two, on the floor of the cabin, my bed; but I was amply compensated for this want of luxuries by a degree of openness and hospitality, which indeed the most fastidious could not but have admired. Thus, on going away, my host has sometimes accompanied me four or five miles, in order to put me in the track leading to the road.

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But notwithstanding the instances of good-heartedness, and simplicity of manners, which one meets with in these wild countries, yet few travellers are willing to quit the more frequented districts; and it is to this want of self-denial, that I should be disposed to attribute the erroneous accounts of the American character which have been given us. Some of our travellers moreover, are in the practice of detailing all the disagreeable scenes of low life, which they have witnessed at the taverns, and hence lead their readers

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to form a very incorrect idea of the whole people. If an American traveller in England were to do the same, he would have no difficulty, in proving us the most profligate, immoral, and cheating nation on the face of the earth.

After waiting in vain two days for the river to freeze over, so, that I could pass on horseback, I at last hired two or three men, armed with poles, to assist in keeping off the cakes of ice; and thus succeeded in crossing, notwithstanding the width and rapidity of the river.

Between the White River and Vincennes is a large swamp, intersected by a small stream. Over this swamp, for the distance of two miles, is piece of what the Western people very expressively term a "Corderoy Road," which is very common in these States, and is made wherever the ground is marshy.

A Corderoy Road consists of small trees, stripped of their boughs, and laid touching one another, L 2 148 without any covering of earth. As the marsh underneath is of various degrees of solidity, the whole road assumes a kind of undulating appearance. I found some of the logs a little apart from one another; and was therefore constantly afraid, that the animal that carried me would break his leg; but he was a Western horse, and by the manner in which he picked his way, showed that he knew the danger as well or better than I did. Any one crossing these logs in a wheeled carriage, must find the jolking truly formidable.

Vincennes is a small straggling place, situated on the bank of the Wabash, and is one of the oldest towns in the United States. It was founded by the French, the same year that William Penn founded Philadelphia; and was, for a long time, partly a French, and partly an Indian village. It once supplied all the neighbouring country for a very great distance around, with goods and merchandize; but is now declining, partly from having lost its superiority as a dépôt for goods, and partly from the unhealthiness of its situation. I have

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scarcely been to a single spot on the western side of the Ohio, where, during the autumn of 1822, the people had not suffered from sickness.

The Wabash is a beautiful river, which, after a meandering course of about 600 miles, enters the Ohio in a stream about 400 yards wide, 140 miles from the confluence of that river with the Mississippi. It may be considered as the largest tributary stream that joins the Ohio from the west. Its own principal tributaries are White River, Little Wabash, Embarrass, Big and Little Eel Rivers, Tree Creek, Ponce Passau, or Wildcat, Tippecanoe, and Massissiniway.

The Wabash flows through a rich and level country, which is well adapted to cultivation, and in which cotton has of late been raised successfully.

On the Wabash are the towns of Harmony, Vincennes, and Terre-haute, besides several others, which, having only been lately erected, contain, as yet few inhabitants.

This river forms, for a considerable distance, the boundary between Indiana and Illinois. During the spring of the year, it is easily navigated by flat boats, as far as 450 miles from its junction with the Ohio; and craft drawing only two or three feet water, may ascend it as far as Vincennes at almost any season.

It is not till the traveller has crossed the Wabash, and advanced a considerable distance into the State of Illinois, that he can see any of the large "Prairies," of which there are many fertile ones on the west bank of the river. These Prairies, as their name denotes, are large open tracts of natural meadow, covered with luxuriant and rank grass, and destitute of trees or even shrubs. There are no hills in them, though some have a gently undulating surface.

I intended to have remained a few days at Vincennes, 150 but the following circumstance drove me away the next morning.

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A Missouri planter, attended by two slaves, a man and woman, was travelling to St. Louis, in a small wheeled carriage called a "Dearborn," and had stopped at Vincennes to rest his horses. Now the day before I arrived, both his slaves had run away. Trying to travel all night when nearly barefooted, the man had both his feet so severely frost bitten, that he could not proceed. Consequently he was overtaken by some people sent after him by his master, and was brought back to Vincennes the very evening after my arrival. When I got up early the next morning, I saw the poor old slave, who had passed the night in the kitchen, with a heavy chain padlocked round both his legs. A man from North Carolina, who had ridden in company with me from White River, where he had been delayed, came into the room at the same time I did; and, although a slave holder himself, was touched with compassion at seeing the miserable state of this old negro. Having procured the key, he took off one of the padlocks, and desired the unhappy being to come towards the fire, in order to warm his frost-bitten legs and feet, which were much swollen, and were no doubt very painful. The poor slave was so lame he could hardly move, but managed to come and sit down by the hearth. The Carolinian then said to him, "You have committed a great crime, as you must be well aware—how came you to do it?" The negro replied, "Master, I am an old man, upwards of sixty years of age, and I have been all my life in bondage. Several white men told me, that as this was a free State, if I could run away I should be free; and you know master! what a temptation that was. I thought if I could spend my few remaining days in freedom, I should die happy". But, replied the Carolinian, "You were a fool to run away, you know you are much better off as a slave, than if you were free." "Ah! master," said the poor old negro, "No one knows where the shoe pinches, but he who wears it."

Just at this time, in came the master of the slave, and after swearing a terrible oath that he would punish him, desired him to go and get ready the carriage. The poor old man answered that he was in too great pain even to stand upright. Upon this the brute, saying, "I will make you move, you old rascal," sent out for a "cowhide." Now the sort of whip called by this name is the most formidable one I ever saw. It is made of twisted strips of

dried cow's skin; and from its weight, its elasticity, and the spiral form in which the thongs are twisted, must, when applied to the bare back, inflict the most intolerable torture.

The wife of the tavern keeper coming in, and hearing that the negro was going to be flogged, merely said, "I would rather it had not been on the Sabbath." For my part, I thought it signified very little upon what day of the week, such an atrocious act of wickedness was committed; so after trying in vain to obtain a relaxation of the punishment, I called for my horse, determined not to hear the cries of the suffering old man. Yet even when I had ridden far from the town, my imagination still pictured to me the horrors that were then being performed; and I should have thought myself deficient in human kindness, if I had not cursed from the bottom of my heart, every government, that, by tolerating slavery, could sanction a scene like this.

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CHAPTER IX. BIRKBECK'S SETTLEMENT.—EMIGRATION.

From Vincennes, I turned to the left, in order to cross White River, below the junction of its two Forks, and proceed through Princetown and Harmony, to Birkbec's, English settlement at Albion.

The road, or rather path, to the ferry on White, River, runs chiefly through low flat Barrens, with here and there a patch of Prairie. Upon arriving at the bank, I found the ice running so thick, and in such very large cakes, that the boat could not cross. Some men with a drove of hogs had already waited there two days, and the ferryman said that I had very little chance of being able to cross for a day or two, and perhaps not for a week. I therefore determined to cross the country, in a westerly direction, so as to meet the Wabash just above its junction with White River.

Upon inquiring of the ferrymen, if there were any house in the neighbourhood at which I could stop, they informed me that there was only one, which belonged to a Scotch gentleman who had lately settled in this part of the country. "But although," said one of

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them, "I am certain he does not keep open house, yet perhaps as you are a stranger, he will allow you to stay there tonight."

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As it was getting late I determined to lose no time, and accordingly, after a ride through the woods of about two miles, I found myself at the settlement.

The house, which was of a much better description than any I had lately seen, was situated on a gentle rise, overlooking the river, and surrounded with a large space of cleared land. I dismounted, and upon opening the door was delighted to see six or seven men in Highland bonnets, sitting round a blazing fire. I mentioned to the gentleman that I was a stranger, and should feel much obliged to him for a night's lodging for myself and my horse; upon which he immediately, with the genuine hospitality I have so often experienced in his native land, said that I was welcome to stay there, and to partake of whatever his house afforded.

He had left Perthshire at the head of twenty of his countrymen, and had fixed himself on this spot; and although he had only been here eight months, had already put every thing into very good order.

My fare was sumptuous, compared to what it had been for some time past; and moreover I had a good bed to sleep in, with a pair of fine clean sheets.

I am particular in noticing this luxury, because it was only in two other places that I enjoyed it, during the whole of my travels, in the States of 155 Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. In general the beds were altogether without sheets; and the blankets had probably, since their manufacture, never experienced the renovating effects of a good washing. Sometimes indeed there would be one sheet, and occasionally two; but cleanliness in this particular I had almost despaired of.

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Many of my countrymen, because they have not met with much comfort in these out of the way places, have, upon their return home, most unjustly and ridiculously imputed the same want of comfort to every part of the United States. But let us consider, that from Vincennes to Louisville is a distance of 120 miles, and that from thence to Washington, by the ordinary route up the Ohio river and through Wheeling is 731 miles: so that one of these delicate travellers would be equally entitled to abuse the whole of Great Britain, because he might meet with bad accommodation in the Orkneys. Moreover, woods are not cut down, and good inns established, in a day, nor even a year; and he who cannot put up with some inconvenience will do well to avoid travelling in a new country.*

* In many places where I have met with execrable accommodation, future travellers will find good inns: for the whole country is so rapidly improving, that what is true of the Backwoods one year ceases to be so the next.

This settlement is in a beautiful situation, surrounded by fertile land; but alas! it has shared 156 the fate of all the neighbourhood with regard to sickness; two of the emigrants having died, and several others being very ill. I went away in the morning, after receiving an invitation from my worthy host to repeat my visit if I should ever pass again in that direction.

The path from hence to the Wabash, lies through a thickly wooded country, abounding in game. I expected to have had much difficulty in crossing the river; for though there was a ferry boat, it had been drawn ashore and was frozen to the ground. Fortunately, however, I found a man going over in a flat boat with some cattle. The Wabash just above had closed up and frozen over, so that here, where the stream was very rapid, there was little or no floating ice. After crossing, I rode along the right bank to Palmyra. This most dirty, miserable little village was once the county town of Edward's County, Illinois; an honour which it lost, in consequence of the superior healthiness of Albion.

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After stopping a night at Palmyra, I proceeded along a road which was in a very bad state, and which was very difficult to find. About two miles before arriving at the Bon-pas river is one of the largest and worst swamps I ever passed through. I can form no idea of its length; but it is full two miles broad where the road crosses it. At the Bon-pas, five miles from Albion, I found a wooden bridge, which is a great convenience to 157 travellers, as they would otherwise often have to swim the stream, both the banks of which are steep and slippery.

On arriving at the far-famed settlement of Albion, I found that it by no means merited all the abuse I had heard of it in England. The town is indeed small; but has at any rate a very pleasing appearance, as contrasted with most of those in the Backwoods.

I was hospitably received by Mr. Birkbeck and Mr. Flowers. They both have large houses. That belonging to Mr. Flowers is a peculiarly good one, and is very well furnished. One room in particular was carpeted, and contained a nice assortment of books, and a pianoforte; all luxuries of great rarity in these remote districts. The inn is a well-built brick-house, and might have been made very comfortable; yet, although kept by an Englishman, it has none of the characteristics of an English inn; but, on the contrary, partakes largely of those of the Backwoods; so much so indeed, as to be a subject of remark even to the Americans. I staid here several days without having clean sheets.

While at Albion I read all the books and reviews that had been written both for and against this settlement. One traveller describes it as an earthly paradise, another as a miserable unhealthy swamp; the truth is about midway between these extremes.

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Albion is situated on a dividing ridge, as it is called, which separates the waters of the Little, from those of the Big Wabash. On this account it is more healthy than most of the neighbouring country, though it is not at all times free from the prevalent autumnal disease—an ague, accompanied with fever. The year I was there the settlement had been

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remarkably healthy; which surprised me the more, as wherever else I had travelled, the people complained of illness.

Albion and Wanborough, of which Albion is by much the most thriving little village, are about a mile and a half distant from each other, and border on the fine tract of land called the English Prairie. All the Prairies in the neighbourhood of Albion are remarkably beautiful. These large natural meadows, when not too extensive, remind one of a nobleman's park in England. Surrounded by forest, which juts out into them in points, and occasionally diversified with clumps and belts of wood, they form a most agreeable prospect, especially after one has passed through such an interminable wilderness of trees.

Albion seems to be greatly in want of good water; for though many wells have been dug, in which this most necessary article has been found, yet the village itself is still without an ample supply during the dry season.

The settlement has been considerably benefitted by having been lately elevated to the rank of a 159 county seat; and it will, no doubt, some day or other, become a place of importance.

The farms in the neighbourhood are increasing in magnitude and number. The year I was there the settlers had exported produce for the first time. The way they effected this, was by loading several flat boats with corn, flour, pork, beef, sausages, &c., and floating them down the Wabash into the Ohio, and from thence down the Mississippi to New Orleans, a distance of about 1,140 miles. The mere length of this navigation proves that the settlement is capable of great efforts. But the grand objection is the general unhealthiness of the neighbouring country; for if the Illinois were as healthy as England, it would soon equal, or even surpass, all that Mr. Birkbeck has written in its favour.

One of the principal inducements to settle at Albion, in preference to any other place in the State, is, that there is a very clever English Surgeon there, who, having had a

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regular education under Abernethy, and walked the Hospitals in London, must be a great acquisition to families in the neighbourhood. Persons who have not visited the Western States cannot have any idea of the general ignorance of the practitioners of medicine. A young man, after an apprenticeship of a year or two in the shop of some ignorant apothecary, or at the most, after a very superficial course of study at some school or college, is entitled to cure (or 160 rather kill) all the unhappy Backwoodsmen who may apply to him for advice. It would be well if they were all as harmless in their practice as Dr. Elnathan Todd, a person described in the *Pioneers*, an American Novel, and whose character, drawn to the life, gives a good idea of one of these physicians. Indeed, to become a doctor in the Backwoods, it is only necessary to have a cabin containing 50 or 100 dollars' worth of drugs, with a board over the door, affirming that this is Dr. M. or N's "Store."

What appeared to me to be one of the great drawbacks to settling at Albion, was, that there were two parties who were in open hostility with one another, and whose eternal prosecutions enabled two lawyers, even in this small settlement, to thrive upon the dissensions of the community. Mr. Flowers was the person, against whom the greatest indignation of the opposite party was pointed; but, although I was at the time informed of their mutual grievances, yet I have since so entirely forgotten them, that I cannot take upon me to say which party was in the right. I must confess, however, I was greatly mortified at seeing these foolish people, after having left their country, crossed the Atlantic, and travelled 1000 miles into the wilderness, quarrelling with one another, and making each other's situation as disagreeable as possible. The hostile parties do not even speak; and thus the respectable inhabitants, who might 161 constitute a very pleasant little society, are entirely kept apart from one another.

The lower class of English at Albion, that is, the common labourers and manufacturers, have, I am sorry to say, very much degenerated; for they have copied all the vices of the Backwoodsmen, but none of their virtues—drinking, fighting, &c., and, when fighting, "gouging" and biting. In England, if two men quarrel, they settle their dispute by what is

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called "a stand-up fight." The by-standers form a ring, and even if one of the combatants wish it, he is not permitted to strike his fallen antagonist. This is a manly, honourable custom, which the people of England have good reason to be proud of. But fighting in the Backwoods is conducted upon a plan, which is only worthy of the most ferocious savages. The object of each combatant is to take his adversary by surprise; and then, as soon as he has thrown him down, either to "gouge" him, that is, to poke his eye out, or else to get his nose or ear into his mouth and bite it off. I saw an Englishman at Albion who had a large piece bitten out of his under lip. Until I went into the Backwoods, I could never credit the existence of such a savage mode of fighting. I believe something of the same kind was once customary in Lancashire; but it has, since the days of pugilism, been totally exploded. This abominable practice of gouging is M 162 the greatest defect in the character of the Backwoodsmen.

With regard to Mr. Birkbeck's letters, every one who has lately been at the settlement, must allow, that the description he has given of the advantages of the situation, is somewhat exaggerated. But I also believe, that every one who knows Mr. Birkbeck, must be perfectly convinced that his exaggerations were unintentional; and this I am sure would be granted, even by those who have found to their cost, that it is much more difficult to increase one's capital in Illinois than in England.

When Mr. Birkbeck first arrived in this State, land, and particularly produce, bore a much higher price than it does at present. Hence this Gentleman, being rather an enthusiast, and viewing only the bright side of things, described the country in a manner, which, even at the time, was not literally correct. But the transition from war to peace, from an annual expenditure of 33,000,000 dollars to 13,000,000, combined with the opening of so much new territory, and with other fortuitous circumstances, has now reduced the western farmers to great distress. Indeed the agriculturists of all the Western States have suffered nearly as much as the same class of people in Great Britain. Mr. Birkbeck has participated in the general calamity, as it is well known that he does not 163 possess as many dollars at this moment, as he did pounds sterling when he left England. But for this, which was

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his misfortune, and not his fault, he has been greatly and unjustly calumniated in several publications.

I must however beg to be understood, that I by no means advise my countrymen to emigrate to Albion, or indeed to any other place whatsoever. On the contrary, I am convinced that any one, who has even a prospect of making a decent livelihood in England, would be a fool and a madman to remove to the Illinois.

To a family-man, who finds his property and his comforts daily diminishing, without any prospect of their changing for the better, the English settlement may be an object worth attending to; though, for my own part, should I ever be obliged to emigrate (which I trust in heaven will never be the case), I should give a decided preference to the State of New York, or to Canada, or Pennsylvania, for reasons to be mentioned hereafter.

A bachelor has no business in the Backwoods; for in a wild country, where it is almost impossible to hire assistance of any kind, either male or female, a man is thrown entirely upon himself. Let any one imagine the uncomfortableness of inhabiting a log-cabin, where one is obliged to cut wood, clean the room, cook one's victuals, &c. &c. without any assistance whatsoever; and he will then feel the situation of many unhappy young men, who have M 2 164 come to this settlement, even from London, and quite by themselves. To a family-man the case is different. When isolated from the world, as every one must expect to be who goes to the Backwoods, he has an immense resource in domestic enjoyments, and particularly in the care and education of his children. How different from the solitary inhabitant of a log-cabin in this most solitary country!

But even the married emigrants cannot be perfectly happy. How often have I observed the love of their native land, rising in the hearts of those of my exiled countrymen, whom I have met with in different parts of this vast continent! When I have spoken to them of England, and particularly if I had been in the countries or villages where they once dwelt, their eyes have glistened, and their voice has been almost choked with grief. Many a one

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has declared to me, that it was with the most heart-rending anguish, that he determined to abandon his home and his relations. But what could he do? poverty stared him in the face. Many a one has told me, over and over again, that were the tithes and poor-rates taken away, or were they even only diminished so that he could make a shift to live, he would return to his native land with the most unfeigned joy.

I recollect that some time after this, I met, at Harmony in Indiana, one of our fine English yeomen who had emigrated with a considerable sum of money. He told me that the desire of returning home had of late preyed so much upon his mind, that he would have gone, but for the receipt of some letters that stated the terrible agricultural distress in England. "If, sir," said he, "I could only make shift to live at all, I would certainly go back immediately. My old woman is pining to revisit her relations and her long lost home, and she entreats me to return, if even we should work for our daily bread. I have been making arrangements, and have even sold most of my stock; but now this letter tells me I could not live. I have but little money, and if I could not rent a farm upon which I could gain a subsistence, I should at last become a pauper. It is only the shame of this that detains me here. I assure you, sir, I have never ceased to regret the hasty step I took in leaving my country; but the fear of losing my all drove me away."

I do not pretend to understand the mysteries of government; but I am sure no one could have heard this man, and could then have laid his hand on his heart, and said that he sincerely believed, the happiness of the English people was properly attended to. Can it be politic, setting aside all thoughts of justice, to drive away the hardy peasant by depriving him of his well-earned pence? And to whom is this money given? To sinecurists, who are often already enormously rich, and to churchmen, whose primates live in a state of more than princely luxury, and the aggregate of whose revenues is nearly equal to that of all the other protestant clergy in the whole world. Surely we may say with Goldsmith:—

“Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade, A breath can make them, as a breath has made; But a bold peasantry, their country's pride, When once destroyed can never be supplied.”

Supposing a man intends to emigrate, he should contrast the good with the bad, and will then, from his own sentiments, be able to determine what course to take. A man in England enjoys numberless little comforts which he does not appreciate. Moreover, with moderate temperance, he has the certainty of enjoying good health. But when he goes to the Backwoods of America, he has every thing to do for himself; he has a difficulty even of obtaining shoes, clothes, &c.; and he then begins to call luxuries what he once considered only as necessaries. He lives in a log-cabin, cut off as it were from the world, and in all probability suffers from the prevailing diseases of the country. As to the specious accounts and calculations, that he is to increase his capital, and make his fortune; so far is this from the truth, that if he once invest his money in land, he is compelled to remain, out of inability to dispose of it. Money and land are not, as in England, convertible; and it often happens, that land in the Backwoods, cannot be disposed of at any price.

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Nevertheless, I must allow that emigration offers some great advantages. In the United States a man, instead of renting a farm, can, for a small sum of money, become a respectable landholder. He will no longer be pestered every quarter-day, for rent, and tithes, and poor-rates. There is indeed a land-tax, but it is so trifling that it may be left out of any calculation, not being annually more than one farthing per acre. The emigrant becomes here independent: he is even considered as a member of the great political body; for, as is the case in the State of Illinois, after residing six months he is entitled to vote, and at the end of five years, by becoming a citizen, is eligible to any office or place in the whole United States, President only excepted. Though the gain of the colonist be but small, his mind is at ease. His fortune cannot well diminish, and with moderate industry

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may slowly increase. At all events he can look forward without anxiety to the establishment of his family.

As, however, every one views things in a different light, I most earnestly recommend all persons intending to emigrate, to visit the country before they move their families to it. Indeed it is a duty which the emigrant owes them, to see the place he intends to remove them to. The whole expense of a journey from England, even to Illinois, and back again, might, by taking a steerage passage across the Atlantic, be easily included in 100 *l.* ; 168 a sum, which a man with even a small capital could not grudge, in so momentous a concern as that of emigrating. I have, moreover, no hesitation in saying; that the 100 *l.* would be well laid out, even should he afterwards determine to emigrate. By going through the country, he would have an opportunity of seeing several States, and could judge which would best suit his ideas of comfort and profit. He would inform himself accurately about the life of the American farmers, and about the value of land as connected with the healthiness of its situation, and of its proximity to a market or a navigable river. He should also inform himself concerning the methods of cultivation; for it must be considered, that although an English farmer may know very well how to raise wheat and oats, he is perfectly ignorant of the culture of cotton, tobacco, and particularly of Indian corn, which is the grand staple of the Southern and Western States, and of which 500 bushels are raised for every bushel of any other grain. Indeed most of the small Backwoods farmers do not cultivate anything else.

If four or five families from the same part of England wish to emigrate, they would do well to send first of all one of *their own* number, a poor man, but upon whom they could rely. His journey would cost much less than 100 *l.* ; perhaps only 50 *l.* ; for, on arriving at the other side the water, 169 he might travel on foot, and yet go as far in three days as a horseman would in two.

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By adopting such a plan the emigrant may become independent of books, which at most are but fallacious guides; every one, in his views of a strange country, being influenced more or less by his former mode of life.

A poor man would, I think, if willing to work, live more comfortably in the State of New York, or in Pennsylvania, than in the Illinois; but then he could not so easily become an independent landholder.

There is one class of people, however, whom I must on no account dissuade from emigration, I mean the poor Irish. Never, in all my travels, have I seen any set of people who are so wretched as these. The poorest Swiss or German peasant, is rich and well off compared to them. Persecuted, and put almost out of the pale of the law, on account of their faith; obliged, when almost starving, to stint themselves in food, in order to support a religion they abhor; living on roots; often not having enough even of these; and probably not tasting bread or meat once a year;—surely such men cannot but find any change advantageous. I verily believe, that the poorer class in Kerry are no better off, and no more civilized, than when Ireland was first conquered by Earl Strongbow. If they could emigrate en masse, they would become superior beings; and I would strongly advise every one of them, who possesses the means of getting to the sea-side, to work or beg his passage over, and go where he may, so that at all events he may quit his native island—that den of human wretchedness.

Before concluding the subject of emigration, I must say, though with bitter feelings of regret, that it is the intention of the people of the Illinois to constitute themselves a slave-holding State. So powerful is avarice, and so weak is patriotism, that many inhabitants, to whom I spoke upon the subject, acknowledged that it would ultimately be a great curse to the State; but this was indifferent to them, as they intended going away. These wretches think, that if their State can be made a slave state, many of the wealthy southern planters

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will emigrate to it, and that thus the price of land will be increased. As they wish to sell theirs, many will on that account vote for slavery.

Now the present constitution of Illinois (Art. 6.) says: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall hereafter be introduced into this State, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; nor shall any male person arrived at the age of twenty-one years, nor female person arrived at the age of eighteen years, be held to serve any person as a servant, under any indenture hereafter made, unless such person shall enter into such indenture while in a state of perfect freedom, and on condition of a bonâfide 171 consideration, received, or to be received, for their service."*

* Vide that excellent little work "Constitutional Law," published at Washington, which comprises the constitutions of all the States.

The legislature of Illinois meets only once in two years, and by the constitution, if any alteration be required, all that can be done by the legislature, in which the proposition for an alteration is brought forward, is to advise the people to enable the next legislature, to call a convention of the whole State, for the purpose of making the said alteration. In order to give this advice, there must be a majority of two-thirds. I grieve to say, that when I was there this majority had been obtained. As, however, the Convention cannot be called for two years, there is some little hope that the emigrants from the Northern and New England States, who are all strongly opposed to slavery, may increase so as to make head against the proposition. There is also some little chance, that the General Government of the United States will, as it ought, interfere. Neither, however, of these chances appeared to me to be very great.

Those who have been the cause of this convention, are the men who have come from the slave-holding States. On their success in getting the votes of two-thirds of the legislature, the Conventionalists assembled at two or three public dinners, at which they drank, among

other toasts, 172 “The State of Illinois— *give us plenty of negroes* , a little industry, and she will distribute her treasures.” “ *A new constitution, purely republican* , which may guarantee to the people of Illinois the peaceable enjoyment of *all species of property*. ”

What mortified me the most, was to find that many of the English at Albion were in favour of this iniquitous plan. Some few indeed of the more respectable are opposed to it; and Birkbeck and Flowers have even declared, that should it be carried into effect, they will leave the State. It remains to be seen how far they are sincere. There are, on the other hand, certain miscreants, who have fled from their own country, to avoid, as they tell you, the tyranny of tithes and taxes, and who have yet no hesitation in giving their vote for merciless personal slavery, and the consequent entailing of endless misery and degradation, upon tens of thousands of their fellow men. It is the conduct of such unprincipled wretches as these, that gives a handle to the serviles of Europe to declaim against liberty, by showing that there are some men utterly unworthy to enjoy it. It always annoyed me that any person in a free country should uphold slavery; but I felt it doubly mortifying, to discover, that among such wretches, there were Englishmen.

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CHAPTER X. CAT'S FERRY—THE PRAIRIES—MISSISSIPPI—HARMONY.

Upon leaving Albion, I determined to “strike” the road leading to St. Louis in the State of Missouri, by taking a North-west course of about forty miles across the country. The road, or trace as it is more properly called, leading to Cat's Ferry on the Little Wabash, is through a wild country, and is somewhat difficult to find. For a considerable distance it runs through some beautiful little Prairies, which appear to be very fertile, if one may judge from the lofty stalks of Indian corn, which continue standing, during the winter, round the cabin of occasional settlers.

In travelling through these Prairies, every one must be struck with the vast number of a species of grouse, called “Prairie Fowls.” These very much resemble the Scotch grouse,

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both in colour, and in being feathered to the feet; but are somewhat larger. They differ however in this particular, viz. that when disturbed, they will settle upon a fence or tree, if any be near. They are delicious eating, and are killed in great numbers by the unrivalled marksmen of this country. After driving up a flock of these birds, the hunter advances within fifteen or twenty paces, raises his 174 long heavy rifle, and rarely misses striking the bird on the head. I have witnessed over and over again this surprising accuracy, and have fired away numberless pounds of lead in trying to imitate it, but without success. I contented myself therefore with shooting the birds in the body, by which I rather tore and spoilt them. But, however difficult I found it to hit a bird anywhere with a single ball, the Backwoodsmen regarded my unsportsmanlike shooting with as much contempt, as one of our country squires feels, when a cockney shoots at a covey of partridges on the ground.

I have seen at one time, several hundreds of Prairie fowls in a flock. They would afford excellent sport to any one who could procure a smooth-bored gun—an article, which, unless brought to Albion by the English settlers, is unknown throughout the whole of the Illinois. If a person with this sort of gun were an adept in shooting flying, he might easily kill a hundred birds, or even more, in a day. But shooting flying is an art wholly unknown to the Backwoodsmen. Indeed I have often been amused, when speaking to them upon this subject, to see with what scepticism they have received my accounts, gravely asking me, whether I really meant that any one with a double-barrelled gun, could kill two birds on the wing, one after the other.

On these occasions I have been asked, when they discovered what country I belonged to, 175 whether it were really true, that a man in England might not kill deer, if he found them in a forest. They were much astonished, and seldom gave me full credit, when I told them, that not only a man might not kill deer, but unless he possessed land of a certain value, and were also provided with a license, he could not kill even the partridges and pheasants which lived upon his own wheat. Such flagrant injustice appeared to them impossible; and I was sometimes obliged to explain, that the English game-laws are the remains of a

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Feudal oppression which formerly punished the killing of a hare by death, while homicide could be atoned for by a fine.

While I was passing through a point of wood running into one of the Prairies, two racoons, who had come out to enjoy the fine weather, ran up a small tree, so near me, that had I been inclined I could easily have killed them both. These animals are very numerous, and their fine and soft skins are worth about 20 cents (10 *d.*) each.

I was much amused by a story told me about these skins. "Money was at one time so scarce in Indiana, that racoon skins passed current, being handed from one person to another. But some Yankees (New Englanders) forged these notes, by sewing a racoon's tail to a cat's skin, and thus destroyed the currency." This, like many other good stories about the Yankees, is no doubt a fiction; and was only intended to perpetuate the dislike 176 of the New Englanders, who nevertheless excel all the settlers, in industry, education, civility, and morality.

I found Fox river quite frozen, except in one place, where the ice had been broken, in order, apparently, that the stream might be forded by some cattle, the marks of whose hoofs were visible upon the snow and earth. I had been told, before leaving Albion, that the ford was a very bad one, and that I should perhaps have to swim. But, in addition to other difficulties, I found the banks uncommonly steep and slippery. However, as it was getting dark, I made up my mind for an immersion, and was just preparing to plunge in, when three hunters coming out of the wood on my left, shouted out that the river was not fordable. When they came up, they addressed me as usual, with, "Stranger, where are you going? where did you come from? &c. &c." Having answered their questions, I began asking them about the ford, the trace, &c. They told me, I could not possibly go that night to Cat's Ferry, as it was twelve miles off, and the pathway very difficult to find, even during day-light, when the "blazing"* on the trees was visible. They added, there was no house

* When a road is first of all made through the woods, and before many of the trees have been cut down, some one gives every fifth or sixth tree in the intended line, two or three chops, with an axe, which marks are essential to finding the way. This is called "blazing."

177 in the whole distance. "But," said one of them, "my house is only four miles off, and although it is out of your road, you had better go home with me, or you will lose your way; and you will find sleeping out very unpleasant, as it will freeze sharply to-night." The men who addressed me were all in hunting-shirts, and had with them their rifles, tomahawks, and knives. From this formidable appearance, I at first almost hesitated to trust myself with them; but upon reflecting that if they intended me any harm, they could shoot me at once and throw me into the river, I perceived the folly of my suspicions. They very civilly helped me to take off my saddle and saddle-bags, which two of them assisted me to carry, till we came to some drift wood, fixed in the ice, and upon which we crossed. The third man remained behind, and when we had returned opposite to the ford, drove in my horse, who swam over, and mounted the bank, though not without some difficulty. The man then went down the river, crossed the driftwood, and joined us.

It was now quite dark, and as I accompanied these men through the belts of wood, and over the Prairies between the river and their house. I could not help reflecting, that they might, without even the possibility of suspicion, dismiss me from this best of all possible worlds, and afterwards appropriate to themselves, my saddle-bags, watch, money, and horse. N

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As I was a perfect stranger, no one would have inquired about me; and indeed if I had been an inhabitant of an adjoining State, and had had friends who could have made a search for me, the murderers could never have been discovered, nor even any trace of the murder have been obtained, in so wild a part of the country. Yet these fears were entirely groundless, for I have been alone, in the woods and Prairies at all hours of the day and night, and never met with anything in the shape of danger.

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In the Atlantic States, indeed, I had heard a great many stories about the danger of passing through the Backwoods, but I could scarcely, when there, hear any authentic accounts even of robberies.

It may not here be amiss to say something about the manners and characters of the back settlers of the country.

The first who penetrate into the woods, and who dwell on the very frontiers of civilization, are the Hunters. These men lead a wandering life, much resembling that of their occasional companions the Indians. They subsist almost entirely on game; and what little money they make is obtained by the sale of furs, &c. As soon as the country begins to be settled, and when, consequently, game becomes scarce, the Hunters break up their habitations, and move further off. It has been much the fashion in the United States to speak ill of these men, but, I think, without reason. There are no doubt among them very bad and profligate characters, who, having fled from justice, have adopted this mode of life; but such persons are not very often heard of. And indeed they have no right to the title of Hunters; for, of course, they are not very skilful in killing game, using the rifle, &c. It is requisite for a Hunter to have been accustomed to this from his earliest infancy: and it may easily be imagined, that a man who has fled from some city for committing forgery, or any other crime, would make but a bad hunter; in the same way as in England, an engraver, if obliged to quit his trade, would make but a bad gamekeeper.

For my own part, and as far as my own observations go, I shall always speak well of the real Hunters; for I have invariably found them open hearted and very hospitable. Their manner of life, indeed, makes them, in some degree, partake of the Indian character, though they by no means have the same nobleness of sentiment, and high sense of honour.

The next in order, after the Hunters, are the Squatters. Some of these men have been Hunters, who, from the increase of their families, can no longer pursue their former mode

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of life. But whatever the Squatters may have originally been, they kill a great deal of game, and are fond of hunting, though they do not depend upon it for subsistence. N 2

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Lastly, come the farmers and more substantial settlers, who buy their land, either from the government or from individuals, clear away the woods, break up the Prairies, and carry on their operations on a large scale. These are the men, who, assembling together on particular spots, found small villages, which not unfrequently increase into populous towns.

Almost the first thing done, after making a road to one of these towns, as they are always called, however small they may be, is to establish a newspaper; which probably is at first only issued weekly, and is small in size. Besides matters of local interest, it contains abstracts of the debates in Congress, most of the new laws, &c.; but always has a considerable portion filled up, with extracts from books or magazines concerning scientific and useful inventions.

But to return to my guides.—

Upon arriving at our place of destination, I found it a miserable log cabin of only one room. What grieved me particularly was, that there was no shelter for my horse, who was wet and cold from his bath, and whom I had to tie for the night to a tree.

A long cabin of the smaller sort is a curious object when first seen. Each wall is made of large rough logs of wood, laid one on another, and which are notched at the ends to let in those of the other walls. As there is always more or less space between the logs, small pieces of wood are driven in to stop up the interstices. This operation is called *chinking*; and before it has been performed, the cabin, in winter, would be uninhabited from the cold, were it not for the great fire that is always kept up. The whole, or nearly the whole of one side of the cabin forms a huge fire-place, the wall being protected from the flames by large flat stones. When, of a winter's evening, the back of the fire-place is filled with a great log called the "back-log," and is piled up with large billets of wood, it

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forms a very comfortable and cheering spectacle. The environs of the cabin appear very extraordinary to an European; for it is generally built in a small clear spot in the midst of a forest, and surrounded with large trees which have been *girdled* , * and blackened with fire, till they resemble huge pillars of charcoal.

* Among the most laborious occupations of the settler is the cutting down the trees. Some of these are so gigantic, that the labour of chopping them down would be immense. He therefore cuts off the bark in a belt about four or five inches wide, and this is called *girdling*. The tree dies, and the year after, when it is dry, it is set on fire, and continues to burn slowly until gradually consumed.

After supping upon venison and hommony, I wrapped myself in my saddle-blanket, and making a pillow of my saddle, as I had often done before, laid myself down before the fire, and fell asleep.

The next morning, my host, who would receive no recompense for his hospitality, walked a mile 182 with me, to put me into the proper direction for “striking” the path leading to Cat's Ferry.

After seeing an immense number of deer in my ride through the wooded flats of the Little Wabash, I crossed the river, and came for the first time into the large Prairies, which, from their size, almost entirely lose their beauty, and present nothing but an immense sea of grass. From hence, indeed, to St. Louis they are but seldom intersected by belts of wood, which are confined to the water courses.

I am at a loss to account for the formation of these extraordinary meadows, and all the theories I have read upon the subject appear to me very unsatisfactory. The wood, wherever it intersects them, or runs in at points, does not gradually decrease in size, but remains as lofty as elsewhere, and gives the ground an appearance of having once been cleared. The fertility of the soil renders it still more astonishing that the wood should terminate so abruptly as sometimes even to resemble a wall. Those who are of opinion

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that the Prairies are artificial, maintain that they were caused by the fires, which the Indians make in the autumn and winter. But these plains increase in magnitude as one advances west; and, after crossing the Mississippi, the whole country, between that river and Mexico, is, with very little exception, one immense Prairie.

I came upon the St. Louis road, near a house kept by a Mr. Fitch, where I got better fare, and 183 a more comfortable bed, than I had for some time. There is a considerable piece of forest round this place. In most of the Western States, the farmers and tavern keepers possess large droves of hogs, which they seldom or never feed, but suffer to run at large in the woods, where they subsist upon mast. In winter the owners generally try to collect and drive them up for a short time, for the purpose of marking them. The sows just before pigging do not return home, but make a bed of leaves and grass in the hollow of a tree, or in some other sheltered spot, where they bring forth their young, and protect them as well as they are able from the wolves, bears, and their still more formidable enemies, the wild cats and catamounts. I have known settlers that possessed several hundred hogs, none of which were ever driven home, except when their owners wanted to kill them, either for home consumption or for sale.

Where the forests are filled with underwood, it occasionally happens that some hogs make their escape, and, becoming quite wild, must be shot. Indeed, most of them follow the mode of life of wild animals, as far as consists in lying quiet all day, and feeding at night. While hunting in the woods, I have often come upon ten or twelve of them, asleep, and almost buried in the leaves which they had collected together, and made into a bed.

In the neighbourhood of Fitch's tavern, as there had been an abundance of mast (by which word is 184 meant beechnuts, acorns, chesnuts, &c.) the settlers had all congratulated themselves upon its being a plentiful year for their hogs; but one of those amazing flights of pigeons, of which I have already spoken, suddenly came into this part of the woods, and devoured not only all the mast that had fallen, but even that which remained half ripe upon the trees. Consequently numbers of the hogs were starved to death.

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Twelve miles after leaving Fitch's, the road enters the Grand Prairie. This immense sea of grass reaches from Lake Michigan nearly to the Ohio, and is about three hundred miles in length. The breadth however is very irregular, being only twenty-four miles, where the Prairie is crossed by the St. Louis road.

I do not know any thing that struck me more forcibly than the sensation of solitude I experienced in crossing this, and some of the other large Prairies. I was perfectly alone, and could see nothing in any direction but sky and grass. Leaving the wood appeared like embarking alone upon the ocean; and, upon again approaching the wood, I felt as if returning to land. Sometimes again, when I perceived a small stunted solitary tree that had been planted by some fortuitous circumstance, I could hardly help supposing it to be the mast of a vessel. No doubt the great stillness added very much to this strange illusion. Not a living thing could I see or hear, except the occasional rising of some prairie fowls, or perhaps a large hawk or eagle wheeling about over my head. In the woods I have often observed this silence solitude, but it struck me more forcibly in these boundless meadows.

In the middle of the Grand Prairie, a man of the name of Houston has fixed his habitation. When I was there his improvements were not finished, and he was particularly in want of a well, one he had dug before having fallen in. The house, which has only been built a year or two, is a great convenience to travellers; as before they were sometimes obliged to bivouac in the Prairie, which in winter is a very cold place to sleep in, and in summer swarms with horse-flies and mosquitoes.

These horse-flies, which are larger than a hornet, are so exceedingly troublesome, that I have been informed by those who have often crossed the Prairies in summer, that they have been frequently obliged to dismount, light a fire, and stand in the smoke of it for hours. Horses can with difficulty be induced to leave the smoke; for they have a great dread of the flies, which not only cover their bodies, but get up into their nostrils, and would, if the poor animals were left by themselves, soon torment them to death.

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Once during the summer time, when I was near a marsh in the western part of the State of New York, I saw a horse literally covered with mosquitoes, which were swollen into the appearance 186 of little transparent blood-vessels. When these were brushed off, their unfortunate victim bled almost at every pore. Were it not much too cruel an experiment, it would be curious to ascertain in how short a time they would kill a horse, which was tied so that he could not roll upon the ground.

In the Great Prairie, as in all the others, there are numbers of small grey-coloured wolves, called "prairie wolves," which are not taller than a pointer dog. They are exceedingly troublesome; killing sheep, pigs, and fowls. The common black wolves are also very numerous in the Illinois; and this obliges the settlers to shut up, every night the few sheep they have.

There was a small patch of Indian corn just at Houston's door, into which several prairie wolves entered during the night, and kept up a continual barking. As soon as one begins to bark, another, as it were, answers; and it is quite curious to hear them all begin again at once, in every direction, when just before they were perfectly quiet.

The road to St. Louis, with the exception of an occasional tract of forest, passes through nothing but Prairie. It is customary with the Indians and Hunters to set fire to the long grass, for the purpose of compelling the game to take shelter in the woods, where they can more easily get at it. They do this in the autumn or winter, when the grass, which is often four or five feet in highth, becomes dry. Now the last autumn had been very 187 wet, and on that account the Prairies had not all been fired, so that when I passed through, the grass, in many of them, was still unburnt. I had often heard of the grand spectacle they present when on fire, and was fortunate enough to witness it. I was riding between Carlysle, a small village on the Kaskaskia River, and St. Louis, when I observed a very thick smoke issuing from a small belt of wood, on the edge of the Prairie, about two miles a-head of me, and just where the road entered the towards me very violently, and in a minute or two the flames dashed out of the wood into the long grass of the Prairie. That

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on the right hand of the road had been burnt before, and accordingly I rode a little off in that direction. The flames advanced very rapidly, continued to spread, and before they had arrived opposite to the place where I stood, formed a blaze of fire nearly a mile in length.

How shall I describe the sublime spectacle that then presented itself? I have seen the old Atlantic in his fury, a thunder storm in the Alps, and the cataracts of Niagara; but nothing could be compared to what I saw at this moment.

The line of flame rushed through the long grass with tremendous violence, and a noise like thunder; while over the fire there hovered a dense cloud of smoke. The wind, which even previously had been high, was increased by the blaze which 188 it fanned; and with such vehemence did it drive along the flames, that large masses of them appeared actually to leap forward and dart into the grass, several yards in advance of the line. It passed me like a whirlwind, and with a fury I shall never forget.

The settlers on the edges of the Prairies sometimes experience great losses in consequence of these fires, which burn their fences, crops, ricks, &c.; accidents which would be much more frequent, were it not for the precautions that are taken to clear away the grass, for some distance round the fields and houses.

Travellers very often set fire to the grass, for the sake of seeing the grand spectacle it presents when burning; but, if detected, are liable to a fine, and must pay for all the damage they may occasion.

Persons in waggons and on foot would sometimes, when crossing the Prairies, be destroyed, if, when they saw the fire advancing towards them, they were not to take the precaution of also setting fire to the grass, and retreating upon the burnt spot, which of course the original fire can never reach for want of fuel.

During the last war between Great Britain and the United States, a detachment of the American army passed near the upper end of the Grand Prairie, where the hostile Indians

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lay in ambush. When the troops had entered a small thick wood, 189 the Indians set fire to the grass around it in several places, and it was with the greatest difficulty, and by also firing the grass, and retreating to the spot cleared, that the detachment escaped destruction.

I afterwards saw several Prairies on fire, but was not within two or three miles of them. They produce a beautiful effect during the night, the clouds immediately over them reflecting the light, and appearing almost on fire themselves. When, during a dark night, there are two or three of these meadows on fire at a time, the effect is of course very much heightened; and the whole heavens are then tinged with a deep and sullen red.

I have heard the hunters, in the state of Missouri, describe the grand spectacle offered to their view, when the Indians, every autumn or winter, set fire to the large Prairies that extend almost to Mexico. Here the flames, having nothing to stop their fury, blaze on for many days and nights together, and are only checked at last, either by a heavy fall of rain, or by the blowing of the wind in an exactly contrary direction.

Those who live near, or on the Prairies, do not consider these conflagrations prejudicial, except when some of their enclosures are damaged: for the fire, besides burning up the long dry grass, which would in some measure impede the growth of that of the following year, destroys myriads of noxious reptiles and insects, which deposit their eggs in the luxuriant vegetation, and which, 190 but for this check, would become extremely numerous and troublesome.

I was always forcibly struck by the melancholy appearance of a burnt Prairie. As far as the eye could reach, nothing was to be seen but one uniform black surface, looking like a vast plain of charcoal. Here and there, by the road side, were the bones of some horses or cattle, which had died in passing through, or the horns of some deer which had been killed. These, bleached by the alternate action of fire and rain, formed, by their

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extraordinary whiteness, a most remarkable contrast to the black burnt ground on which they lay.

In passing a small belt of wood near a water-course, I met the mail, that is to say, a man on horseback, who drove before him another horse, on which were fastened the leathern bags containing the letters. These bags were very large, and being packed upon a high wooden saddle, made a curious appearance. When I first saw the horse coming round a turn in the road, I thought some animal was fixed upon its back. It is in this way that the mail is carried twice a week from Kentucky to Vincennes, and from Vincennes to St. Louis.

Eight miles before coming to the Mississippi I passed a sudden declivity, and found myself upon a large plain, extending to the river, and called the "American Bottom." It is probably the richest tract of land in the whole of the United 191 States, and is about 250 miles in length, with a breadth of from two to seven miles.

The whole soil, composed of a deep black mould, has been deposited by the river, which has shifted its course to the foot of the high land, on which the town of St. Louis is situated.

This fertile district is rendered almost uninhabitable by its unhealthiness, and will require a great deal of draining before many persons will settle upon it.

In some of the more healthy spots near the high land, by which it is bordered, a few French people have settled, who, it is universally remarked, are by no means so liable to be attacked by fevers, as the English or Americans. This is attributed to their very different, and much more temperate, mode of living. Indeed I am persuaded, that there are no people on the face of the earth, who consume so much animal food as the Anglo-Americans; for at breakfast, dinner, and supper, hot meat is always eaten, even by the poorest class. During the winter, perhaps, this high living may not be unwholesome; but, even during the burning months of summer autumn, they continue to eat the same immense quantity of meat and grease, which last article is a favourite in their cookery.

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The fertility of the "American Bottom" is truly astonishing, and the stalks of Indian corn which I saw standing might have almost tended to remove one's doubts, as to the height of Jack's wonderful Bean.

After crossing this fine tract of country, and passing through a very small belt of wood, I arrived to my great satisfaction upon the bank of the celebrated Mississippi, which at St. Louis is about one mile in breadth, with a very powerful and rapid current. The name Mississippi, which signifies in the Indian language the "Mother of Waters," was applied to this great river, before geographers were acquainted with the extent and magnitude of the Missouri. It must be obvious to every one, that, as this last-mentioned river contributes at its junction four times as much water to the common channel, and is at least twice as long as the Mississippi, it ought to give its name to the main channel. All American geographers are agreed upon this point; and it would be well in future maps, to correct the erroneous appellation.

"The Missouri," therefore, reckoning from its remote sources in the Rocky Mountains, to its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico, may be considered as the largest river on the globe. The river of the Amazons in South America, is indeed longer, but probably does not drain so great an extent of country. Moreover, for a considerable distance the South American river may be more properly termed an arm of the sea.

The canoes of those enterprising travellers 193 Lewis and Clarke, were stopped at 3000 miles from St. Louis, a few miles above which place, the Missouri joins the Mississippi. The extreme source of the Missouri was no doubt a considerable distance beyond; but counting only from that point, to its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico, the length of this river is 4,178 miles.*

* According to Smith's chart of the comparative length of the principal rivers of the world, the river of the Amazons is 3375 miles long, and the "Missouri" 3365. With regard to the "Missouri," Melish and the other American geographers, who make it 813 miles longer than

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Smith does, have surely the greatest claim to our credit. In this case the South American river must be 803 miles shorter than its rival of the North.

The Valley of the Missouri, as it is called by Volney, comprises all that great extent of country, reaching from the Rocky Mountains to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Alleghanies, and the great Lakes, almost to the territory, of (what was, till lately,) Spanish America.

The tributaries of the Missouri which help to drain this region, would, in the old world, be considered of enormous magnitude. The Red River, the Arkansas reaching almost to Santa Fé, the La Platte, the Osage, the Ohio, and the Mississippi, are rivers of which an Englishman can hardly form any idea. It may be sufficient to mention, that the Ohio, which holds but the third place in the rank of tributaries, is considerably larger than the Danube. The length of this O 194 last-mentioned river is indeed 1300 miles; but the Ohio is navigable, even for large steam-boats, to Pittsburg, 1121 miles from its mouth,* The Alleghany and Monongahela, which meeting at Pittsburg form the Ohio, are both considerable rivers; the later being often navigated by large steam-boats, as high up as Brownsville.

* Pittsburgh Navigator.

As population always becomes dense in proportion to the ease with which subsistence may be procured, it is clear that the Valley of the Missouri, from the richness of its soil, and from the great facilities which it presents for internal navigation, will be ultimately filled with inhabitants.

Mr. Darby tells us, that by repeated admeasurements on the best constructed maps, this river paid its tributary streams, drain more than 1,400,000 square miles; and that consequently if this expanse were peopled, only in the same ratio that Connecticut was in 1810, or with about sixty persons to each square mile, the aggregate number of inhabitants would be 84,000,000.† A lively imagination wandering into futurity, may

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therefore behold this great and as yet almost desert country, teeming with human life, studded with large towns and cities, and abounding in all the luxuries and comforts of civilized society. How delightful is it also to consider, that in America the seeds of freedom are so widely spread, and so

† Darby's Louisiana.

195 deeply rooted, that no human power can eradicate them; and that even should the great Republic of the United States fall to pieces from diversity of interests, or merely from its own magnitude, yet still the independent nations, into which it will be formed, will adhere to the laws and institutions of their ancestors.

St Louis, is a small town containing between two and three thousand inhabitants. It was founded by the French, at the time when Louisiana, of which the present state of the Missouri forms a part, belonged to that nation. It increased in size very rapidly after it came into the hands of the Americans; and at one time was the great emporium of all the fur-trade with the Indians. But it has of late years declined both in prosperity and population, partly owing to the dreadful sickness, and partly to the rivalship of the villages which are springing up on the banks of the Missouri and upper Mississippi, and which now participate in the fur-trade with the Indians.

When I was there, it contained one thousand less inhabitants, than it did at the close of the last war between Great Britain and the United States.—There are still among its population many French, who continue to speak their old language, and in some degree keep up the manners of their native country.

Governor Clarke, the enterprising companion of Captain Lewis, has at St. Louis a small but well-arranged O 2 196 Museum, which contains a great number of Indian curiosities, and which he very kindly opens to all strangers.

To show how soon literary knowledge spreads itself in America, I will here mention that several gentlemen of St. Louis and its vicinity, with whom I became acquainted, had

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not only read all the first Waverley novels, but even the last one, the Fortunes of Nigel, which had only been published a short time before I left England. One of the gentlemen informed me, that he received copies of these novels by the mail, about two months after their publication in America, and probably within fourteen or sixteen weeks of their first appearance in England. He said, that this was also the case with most popular works. O'Meara's account of Napoleon, was read by almost every one; and as all the newspapers contained copious extracts from it, every body could read with feelings of just indignation, the vexations imposed on the splendid despot, by his mean spirited governor.

Every year, expeditions set out from St. Louis or the neighbourhood, for the purpose of hunting, and obtaining skins and furs. These parties are composed of active, enterprising young men, generally to the number of twenty or thirty, and who, during an absence of two or three years, proceed either to the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean, or towards the territory of Mexico. One would suppose that few men would undertake so long an expedition, among savage Indian tribes, with the certainty of living a great part of the time upon nothing but animal food. Yet the enterprising spirit of the Americans is such, and a wild life has such charms for them, that nothing is easier than to find persons ready to join one of these parties. A Backwoodsman will propose a journey of a thousand miles, with as much sang froid, as a cockney would ride from London to Greenwich. The following is the manner in which these hunting expeditions are organized:—Some one either animated by a spirit of adventure, or by a hope, that on his return, he shall make some money by the sale of furs and skins, intimates to his friends that he wants twenty or thirty young men to form his party. He himself finds arms, ammunition, horses, presents for the Indians, and in short, every thing that is required for the general benefit of the expedition. He is to receive in return a certain portion of all the skins and furs obtained by hunting or barter. Sometimes also a small sum of money is given to each individual. These expeditions often turn out very profitable, as a gentleman of Kentucky proved last year, by clearing on his return 15,000 dollars.

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While I was at St. Louis, a gentleman with whom I was acquainted, told me, that an expedition of this kind was to set out in the spring with the intention of penetrating to Santa Fé. "As you are a traveller," continued my informant, "you 198 should not neglect such an opportunity, particularly as you will be at little or no expense. I will introduce you to the commander, who I am sure will be glad of your company." I could not help smiling at the coolness with which this advice was given, as if it were a journey of two or three days only. Nothing, to be sure, would have been so agreeable to me, as to have gone with this party to the Mexican frontier, where I could have left them, and visited at my case that region of wonders; but I knew that so long an absence would occasion no little uneasiness to my family and my friends in England.

I would strongly recommend any of my enterprising countrymen, who are lovers of natural history to join one of these parties; for whether as a botanist, zoologist, or mineralogist, he might make the most interesting discoveries in the most agreeable manner.

The party being so numerous, stands in little danger from the Indian tribes, who besides, are almost all upon friendly terms with the Hunters. Moreover, the Backwoodsmen, who are uncommonly intelligent, are very willing at all times to assist the traveller, in collecting subjects of natural history; and the information they can obtain, by learning the name or use of any animal, plant, or mineral, will often tempt them to bring him specimens from a considerable distance. As the furs and skins collected by the party are sent in canoes 199 down the different rivers which join the Missouri or the Mississippi, the naturalist would have the finest possible opportunities of transmitting his collections to St. Louis, New Orleans &c., from whence they might be carried by sea to any part of the globe. The expense of attending such an expedition is extremely small; for after a horse, rifle, blanket, and a few other necessities are provided, there are no possible means of spending money. Indeed it is my opinion that an Englishman might go to America, make this most interesting journey, and return home, for 300 *l*.

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The country round St. Louis is chiefly Prairie, and the soil in general fertile. With the exception of the junction of the Missouri and the Mississippi, there is nothing very interesting to be seen.

I did not visit the lead-mines, though a ride of a day or two along the right bank of the Mississippi would have taken me there. But indeed they are quite eclipsed by the great mines lately discovered on the Upper Mississippi, where the veins of ore actually make their appearance at the surface of the earth. The mineral dug out has as yet yielded an average of 85 per cent., and such is the abundance of lead that they will soon supply all the new, and probably part of the old world. Besides, there is little doubt, but that all that part of the territory of the United States which extends towards the Rocky Mountains and Mexico, will, 200 When properly examined, disclose mineral treasures of the greatest value.

It was my intention to have ascended the Mississippi, and to have returned to New York by the great Lakes; but, unfortunately, I had no companion, and could not even hear of any one wishing to make the same journey. I had already felt that travelling by oneself in these vast solitudes, is but a very melancholy pleasure; and I was confident that I should not be able to endure being alone, in so great a tract of uninhabited country, as I should have to pass through between St. Louis and Canada. I therefore made up my mind to return, by the lower, or Shawnee-town road, to Kentucky, and to proceed from thence to the Eastern States, in any way that chance might point out.

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CHAPTER XI. SLAVERY.

The United States permitted the Territory of Missouri to become a slave State, when it was admitted into the Union in 1821.

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It appears to me very extraordinary, that in the present enlightened age, a nation professing democratic principles, and advocating the rights of man, should allow personal Slavery at all. With respect to this subject, the inhabitants of the United States may be considered as divided into two parts, the slave-holding and the non-slave-holding States. The free, or non-slave-holding states are, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, (all which are included under the name of the New England States,) and New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The slave-holding States are, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Missouri.

It must be recollected, that at the time when the United States declared themselves independent, every State held slaves. But immediately after the termination of the first American war, the New England and Northern States passed wholesome laws for the gradual abolition of Slavery; and as 202 they now surpass all the others in wealth, population, and intelligence, they have practically demonstrated the truth of Mr. Fox's sentiment,—“that what is morally wrong, cannot be politically right.”

Slavery is a complete check to the building of towns and villages, because it almost entirely prevents any demand for labour or merehandize. Say a man possesses forty slaves. All these unhappy beings are clothed and fed in the coarsest and cheapest manner, generally on a little salt-fish and Indian-corn. They live in huts on the estate of their master, and having nothing to sell, can buy nothing. Each proprietor has his shoemaker, tailor, carpenter &c. on his own estate—all slaves. These are either taught by other slaves, or are, when young, sent by their masters as apprentices to a white artisan at some large town.

If, therefore, a white settler should go to one of the slave States, what could he do? He could not, if an artisan, find any employment; for there is no demand for it. If he should buy land he could not cultivate it without becoming a slave-holder, and this would require considerable capital. Hence in the slave States, the *towns*, as they called, consist of little

more than a tavern, a small store, and a blacksmith's shop. I speak, of course, of the towns in the interior, where there is no foreign commerce. The truth of this statement is fully proved by examining the census.

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Virginia, at the time the United State became independent, was the most populous and by much the most wealthy State, but it now holds a very inferior rank. By the census of 1790, it appears that Virginia contained 442,117 whites, and 292,627 slaves. The State of New York, at the same time, contained 318,796 whites and 21,324 slaves. By the census of 1820, Virginia Contained 618,222 whites, and 428,152 slaves; and New York 1,372,812, of which only 10,000 were slaves, and these decreasing every year. Virginia would have contained many more slaves, but numbers are every year sold out of the State and sent to the south. Maryland, in 1790, had 217,649 free whites; Pennsylvania, 424,099. In 1820, Maryland had only 266,483 free whites, and 39,730 free coloured; while Pennsylvania had 1,040,395 of which only 7,557 were slaves. This may be seen in a still stronger light, by contrasting the State of Ohio with that of Virginia. The latter the oldest, first settled State of America, while the former has only existed as a State since the year 1802. By the census of 1820 Ohio contained 576,714 free whites, and Virginia only 618,222

The white population of the slave States increases a little in the sea-port towns, but scarcely at all in the interior. The mixed breed, however, is constantly becoming more numerous; for the young men of a family are allowed to cohabit with the 204 female domestic slaves, who from being mulattoes are in general preferred to the pure negresses. Some of these girls are uncommonly handsome, and have but very little black blood in them. Indeed I have seen some of these female slaves, who being three or four generations removed from the negro, were nearly as white and fully as good-looking as the ladies they waited upon. This beauty is occasioned by the following circumstances. The father of a family cohabiting with a negress produces a mulattoe, with whom his legitimate son grows up, and if when of age he cohabits with her, another girl is perhaps the fruit of this incestuous union. Afterwards his son, or the first's grandson, cohabiting with

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his natural sister, gives birth to a light brunette, who can scarcely be distinguished from the legitimate grand-daughters.

All these spurious generations are slaves, liable to be sold, and often actually sold to negro drivers, who again sell them to some one else, for mistresses. Indeed in the southern States, the ladies would be very angry, and turn any one out of society, who kept a white woman for his mistress; but would not scruple even to marry him, if he had a coloured one, and a whole family of children by her. But what should we say in Europe if a man sold his own natural son, brother, or sister? This however takes place quite commonly, and as a matter of course. I could mention the name of a lady not 100 miles from Washington, who lets out as a servant 205 her own natural brother, a good-looking Mulattoe. Indeed it is a saying in Kentucky, that “many a man makes his own *Niggers*,” for many a slave-holder, in gratifying his passions, increases at the same time, what may be called his live stock.

The further to the south, the worse the slaves are off. This is particularly the case in those States that do not produce food for them. In the more northern slave holding States, as Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and towards the west, in Kentucky, where Indian corn, and other sorts of grain abound, the slaves are somewhat better provided for. But in the more southern, where little else is raised but cotton, sugar, coffee, and tobacco, the food of the slave (which must be bought) is an object of greater consequence to the master, and consists of little but Indian corn and salt fish. Moreover, in these States, the slaves are kept together in much larger gangs, and with a much smaller admixture of whites; consequently, there are fewer of the domestic slaves, who, under a humane and kind master, are not much worse off than the lowest order of domestic servants in Europe, always however excepting their liability to be beaten or sold.

With regard to the demoralizing effects of Slavery, I shall content myself with quoting the words of that good man, and excellent patriot, Mr. Jefferson, the third President of the United States.

"There must doubtless," he observes, "be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people, produced by the existence of Slavery among us. The whole commerce, between master and slave, is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions; the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and the most degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive, either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, the presence of his child should always be sufficient. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of younger slaves, gives a loose to his worst passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped with its odious peculiarities. The man must indeed be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. With what execration then should the statesman be loaded, who permitting one-half of the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies. He destroys the morals of the one part, and the *amor patriæ* of the other. For if a slave can have a country in the world, it must be any other in preference to 207 that in which he is born to live and labour for another.

"With the morals of the people, their industry also is destroyed. For in a warm climate, no man will labour for himself who can make another labour for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves, a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labour. I tremble for my country, when I reflect, that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep for ever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events; that it may become probable by Superior interference. The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest."

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These fears of Mr. Jefferson are far from being imaginary. They are hastening every day to their accomplishment, and it is astonishing that the slave-holders will not take warning. Like Belshazzar, they cannot, or will not, read the writing on the wall.

Many indeed must be aware of the danger; but hoping probably that the evil day will not come in their time, they indulge in the weakness of procrastination. But Slavery is a cancer, the cure of which becomes more dangerous, the longer the means of cure are delayed, and which at last cannot be eradicated without causing death.

In 1790 the whole number of slaves in the United States was only 694,480. In 1820 they 208 amounted to 1,531,436. In addition to these there were 233,398 free coloured. Now can it for a moment be supposed, that this enormous and rapidly increasing mass of population will long remain in bondage,—when they hear their masters talking of nothing, but Liberty, the Rights of Man, &c.?—when they see processions and rejoicings every year on the anniversary of national independence?—when they hear that Bolivar, as well as the Mexican government, has entirely abolished Slavery?—when they see how the Blacks of St. Domingo opposed 25,000 Veteran French troops? When all these examples are held up to their eyes, will they, can they remain slaves?—Impossible.

The desire of freedom is already beginning to manifest itself in those parts where the slaves are most numerous. In 1820 there was a conspiracy at Charleston in South Carolina, which was only discovered a few days before it was to have been carried into execution,* and which ought to have opened the eyes of every slave-holder who was not wilfully blind.

* Vide Pamphlet entitled “An Account of the late intended Insurrection, among a Portion of the Blacks. Published by the Authority of the Corporation of Charleston. 1822.”

The conspirators were headed by a free black named Denmark Vesey, who was a working carpenter in the city, and was distinguished for his activity and strength. His being a free

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black demonstrates, 209 what indeed I believe has never been doubted, that, in the event of an insurrection, the slaves would be joined by their free coloured brethren, who, finding themselves despised by the whites, and treated as a degraded caste, would gladly take part in any scheme tending to ameliorate their condition.

“It was perhaps *alone* in Denmark Vesey's power, to have given us the true character, extent, and importance of the correspondence which it was afterwards proved was carried on with certain persons in St. Domingo. But these men mutually supported each other, and died obedient to the stern and emphatic injunction of their comrade Peter Poyas: ‘ *Do not open your lips! Die silent, as you shall see me die!* ’”*

* Vide Pamphlet above mentioned, page 18.

They in fact died like heroes, and in a better cause they could not have yielded up their breath. They were executed for wishing to emancipate a million of their brothers from merciless bondage. Yet how much better to die, even thus, than live a life of slavery! P

Who, though they know the riven chain Snaps but to enter in the heart Of him who rends its links apart, Yet dare the issue—blest to be, Ev'n for one bleeding moment free, And die in pangs of liberty! Moore's Lalla Rookh.

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Had this conspiracy, succeeded, South Carolina, and probably all the neighbouring slave States, would have been lost to the whites. As it is, the evil day is only deferred: for I consider, that unless the system be quickly changed, the whole of the slave States must one day, and that not a very distant one, be in possession of the blacks. I do not indeed see how it can be otherwise.

In 1790 there were only 694,480 slaves in the whole of the United States, and a great number even of these were in the now free States, in which the increase of the whites has principally taken place.

At the time of framing the Constitution there was not one State in which the number of the whites was not double that of the blacks: but at present the blacks are more numerous than the whites in South Carolina; and in several of the other States they are already nearly equal, and are every day gaining the superiority. The following extracts are from one of the leading American papers:—

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Table of the White Population in 1810 and in 1820, with the increase; and the Coloured Population at the same period, with the increase and ratios of increase.

States and Territories.	White Population. 1810.	1820.	Increase.	Coloured Population. 1810.	1820.	Increase.	Decrease.	Ratio of white Increase.	Ratio of coloured Increase.
Maine	227,736	297,340	69,604	969	889	80	30	5-10pc	
New Hampshire	213,490	243,236	29,746	184	13	9-10			
Massachusetts	465,403	516,419	51,016	6,737	6,740	3	11		
Rhode Island	73,214	79,413	6,199	3,712	3,602	110	8	5-10	
Connecticut	255,179	267,181	12,002	6,763	7,967	1,204	4	7-10	
Vermont	217,145	234,846	17,701	750	903	153	8	2-10	
New York	918,699	1,332,744	414,045	40,350	39,367	983	45		
New Jersey	226,868	257,409	30,541	18,700	20,017	1,317	13	5-10	
Pennsylvania	786,804	1,017,094	230,290	23,283	30,413	7,130	29	3-10	
Delaware	55,361	55,282	17,311	17,467	156	9-10			
Maryland	235,117	260,222	25,105	145,434	147,130	1,696	10	7-10	
Virginia	551,534	603,074	51,540	423,088	462,042	38,954	9	3-10	
North Carolina	376,430	419,200	42,770	179,090	219,629	40,539	11	3-10	
South Carolina	214,196	237,440	23,244	200,9	??	265,301	64,383	10	2-10
Georgia	145,416	189,566	44,150	107,019	151,419	44,400	30	3-10	
Kentucky	324,237	434,644	110,407	82,274	129,491	47,217	34	5-10	
Ohio	228,861	576,572	347,711	1,899	4,723	2,824	152	7-10	
Tennessee	215,875	339,727	123,852	45,852	82,834	36,982	57	3-10	
Mississippi	23,264	42,176	18,912	17,328	33,270	15,942	81	3-10	
Alabama	96,245	48,072	48,072	Indiana	23,890	145,758	121,868	630	2,320
Louisiana	34,311	73,383	89,072	42,245	79,540	37,295	113	9-10	
Missouri	17,227	55,988	38,761	3,618	10,569	6,951	225	1-10	
Arkansas	12,552	12,552	1,676	1,676	Illinois	11,501	53,788	42,287	781
Michigan	4,618	8,591	3,978	144	174	30	86	9-10	
Dist. of Columbia	16,079	22,614	6,535	7,944	10,335	2,391	40	7-10	
decr. of Del.	79	decrease	1,352	2,010,049	400,246	212			

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"It appears by the table, that the ratio of increase of the whole white population in the United States has been somewhat greater than that of the whole coloured population; but if we separate the free coloured from the slave population, it will no doubt be found that the slaves increase faster than the whites; and if we separate the whites in the free States from those in the slave States, it will no doubt be found, that the slaves increase nearly twice as fast as the whites in the slave States. If this is to continue to be the case, what will be the condition of the Southern States a few years hence? This fact ought to excite the apprehension of our Southern brethren, and they will do well to look to it.

"From the foregoing table, one would naturally conclude that sound policy would dictate two leading measures to the Legislators of the South. First, to prohibit the further emigration of slaves to the respective States. Had Kentucky, Tennessee, and the other new States, adopted this policy ten years ago, the curse of Slavery would at this day have existed in a very small degree in those States, and if adopted now, the evil will be much smaller ten years hence than it otherwise will be. Secondly, as a free black increases much slower than a slave population, the next most obvious measure that can be adopted for the purpose of restraining the black increase is, to permit and encourage manumission by every possible means, 213 or if this policy is not approved of, our Southern Legislators ought to endeavour to diminish the number of the coloured population by colonization."

The slaves multiply faster than the whites. First, because they come sooner to maturity. Secondly, because the young white men cohabit with the black and mulattoe women to an extent scarcely credible. Thirdly, because there is no restraint on unions among the slaves, whose masters encourage promiscuous intercourse, as their wealth increases with the increase of their negroes. Fourthly, and this perhaps is the most important reason of any, because the slaves are not affected by the climate as the whites are.

Every summer and autumn all the inhabitants of the Southern States that can possibly afford it, flee to the Northern, in order to avoid the excessive heat, and the pestilence that sweeps off hundreds of those that remain. Upon the blacks the climate has scarcely any

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effect. God, in his all-wise dispensations, has ordained that the black skin should belong to the human beings that are intended to live in a hot sultry climate. They perspire more freely, and like true children of the Sun, instead of being enfeebled, are strengthened and invigorated by his perpendicular rays. The Southern Americans and English West India Planters, very truly say, that white men could not labour and live, in the countries best adapted for the raising of Cotton, Sugar, Tobacco, Rice, &c. 214 Does not this plainly show, that Providence has intended the white skin for cold and temperate, and the black for sultry and tropical climes? The poor slave, bare-headed, bare-footed, naked to his middle, and without any clothing but a pair of cotton trowsers, works all day beneath the burning rays of the sun, and remains healthy. In the same climate, the white man, though avoiding the mid-day heat, taking what food he likes, and without labour, dies, being cut off by fever and pestilence. At a time when the earth appeared almost calcined by the heat, and when I myself, in common with all the whites, was almost gasping for breath, I have seen a poor negro, lying with his back to the earth, and sleeping with the burning mid-day sun full upon him. He appeared to enjoy the intense heat, like one of those large lizards I have seen on the sunny side of an old wall in Italy.

The Southerners turn a deaf ear to every thing that reminds them of their danger, saying, that the whites are so much more numerous in the United States than the blacks, that an insurrection could not be attended with any very fatal consequences. But surely the people of the Northern and New England States would be very slow in assisting the slaveholders; for so much do they abhor slavery, that I am myself convinced they would take no part whatsoever in the contest. The Blacks would say to them, “This is the cause 215 of Washington!—will *you* hinder us from becoming free, you who made such efforts in that cause, you who threw off your allegiance to England because she wished to make you consent to some trifling taxes on tea and stamps? Only look at the beginning of your declaration of Independence! ‘We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?’ Will you then, because we

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differ from you in colour, aid our tyrants in reducing us again to slavery? Or do you say, that 'all men' means only those whose skin is white? If so, why not enslave the Spaniards and the Portuguese whose skin is darker than your own?" The army of the United States, in all 6,000 men, scattered over their immense frontier from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico, and in posts on the St. Lawrence, the great Lakes, the Missouri and Mississippi, would be quite unable to take any efficient part in the contest, which therefore would only exist between the slaves and their masters. The Blacks would have every thing for them that can animate men to great deeds:—Justice—Liberty—Revenge—Despair—"Who shall resist that proud Union?"

I have heard it said that the Blacks are not brave, and will not fight. But ask the officers of the United States, how those behaved that were in the navy, and in the battles on the Lakes.

216

Recollect also, that in St. Domingo, the slaves who made that noble defence against General le Clerc and his 25,000 veterans, were inferior in numbers to the slaves now existing in the United States.

I must beg leave here to introduce part of a speech delivered at Washington by Dr. Thornton, at a meeting, called for the support of the Greeks, on the 22d October, 1822.

"When the Almighty operates, nothing can interrupt the work: and behold an operation with which mankind are generally unacquainted. During the revolution in South America, when the arms of the Patriots had captured Lagaira, Caraccas, Carthagená, and the countries adjacent; by a visitation of Almighty power, 10,000 of the inhabitants of Caraccas were destroyed in one day by an Earthquake.—The Priests declared this dreadful visitation to proceed from the displeasure of the Most High, in consequence of the revolution. A counter revolution took place, and the chiefs of the Patriots were obliged to flee. Some came to this country; and more estimable, more worthy, and more enlightened men I

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never knew. Bolivar fled to Saint Domingo, and wandering in that country, lamenting the misfortunes of his own, he proposed to the Sable Chief, that if he would furnish him with a few hundreds of his men, together with arms, ammunition, transport vessels, &c., he would immediately, on arriving in his own country, declare all the coloured people free. 217 Christophe agreed—Bolivar arrived with his sable troops—he fulfilled his promise, and never afterwards lost a battle.—In permitting the Blacks to remain in bondage in this country, think you, my fellow citizens, that their situation is to be endless?”

Even supposing the Whites should be victorious, what would they gain?—a territory without towns, and without inhabitants! For when once the Blacks, held in the most cruel and abject bondage, do rise in their might, they will surely execute the plan determined upon by the Charleston Conspirators, who intended burning the town and putting the Whites to the sword. Dreadful indeed will be that day of retribution! But shall we blame their revenge? Only let the reader consider what he himself would do, if after enduring years of slavery, he should all at once find himself the conqueror of his Tyrants! It was with the greatest difficulty, and only by means of the most savage system of extermination, that the English put down the Maroons in Jamaica. In the United States, instead of regular troops there will only be a raw Militia to contend with. The Blacks therefore, notwithstanding the ill success of the late conspirators, must ultimately triumph.

And he who in the strife expires Will add to theirs a name of fear, That tyranny shall quake to hear, And leave his sons a hope, a fame They too will rather die than shame:

218

For Freedom's battle once begun, Bequeath'd by bleeding sire to son, Though baffled oft is ever won. Lord Byron.

Why then should not this great catastrophe be avoided, by gradually emancipating the negroes, in the manner that has been adopted by the New England States, by the Mexican Congress, and by that nation which has been rendered victorious by the magnanimous

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Bolivar? Unfortunately the slave-holders will not listen to Reason. They seem indeed to forget that the negroes are human beings. As an instance of this I need only quote the opinion delivered by Colonel John Taylor, of Virginia, a gentleman, who (notwithstanding that upon the subject of slavery he is a true Southerner,) is nevertheless of the violent democratic party in the United States, and is considered a man of talent.

“Negro Slavery is an evil which the United States must look in the face. Rewards and punishments, the sanctions of the best government, and the origin of love and fear, are rendered useless by the ideas excited by the French revolution; by the example of St. Domingo; by the lure of free negroes mingled with slaves; and by the reproaches to masters and sympathies for slaves, breathed forth from the northern States. Sympathies, such as if negroes should transfer their affections to the baboons. Under the impressions derived 219 from such sources, the justest punishment will be felt as the infliction of tyranny, and the most liberal rewards as a niggardly portion of greater rights.”*

* Taylor's Arator, p. 85.

Now I would just hint, that I have seen a work written by a native of St. Domingo, the Baron de Vastey, which both in style, composition, and just and proper feeling, so far surpasses the writings of Col. Taylor, that most persons would suppose, that the Colonel, (always of course excepting his transcendent merit in being of a whitish colour,) had a much greater affinity to the baboon than the Haytian. In fact this may in some degree account for the unnatural sympathies of the Northern States.

The advocates for Slavery have maintained that the negroes are inferior in capacity to the Whites. Does a man's complexion alter his intellect? Do the abilities of an European, whose color has been changed by a residence in Africa, of necessity deteriorate? That the mass of the Blacks are at present inferior in abilities to the Whites cannot be denied; but why? because they are kept enslaved both in mind and body, because every obstacle is thrown in the way of those who wish to learn reading and writing, and because in some

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of the slave States it is contrary to law to instruct them. How then can it be expected that any marks of genius 220 should appear, when their minds are under the dominion of ignorance, and their bodies under that of the lash?

The following paragraph, copied from a Charleston paper of 1823, will give some idea of the enlightened spirit existing among the slave-holders.

“The Grand Jury of Charleston present as a nuisance the numbers of schools which are kept within the city by persons of colour; and believe that a city ordinance, prohibiting under severe penalties such persons from being public instructors, would meet with general approbation.”

As the Blacks are most carefully excluded from all schools kept by *white* persons, where their presence would be considered as a sort of contamination both by the master and scholars, this bill of the Grand Jury will deprive them at once of all instruction. This indeed, although they do not avow it, (for even the most hardened are sometimes sensible to public shame,) is their real object and intention.

It is curious to see how fearful all despots are, that mankind, and particularly those under their own immediate rule, will ultimately become enlightened.

That great man, the Emperor of Austria, when inspecting a certain University, is reported to have said, “I do not want learned, but loyal subjects!” which, being interpreted, means—I do not want men of enlightened understandings, but slaves.— 221 He, in common with the aforesaid Grand Jury of self-styled Liberals, is aware that despotism can only be maintained by keeping the mass of the people in *ignorance*. * Let any one contrast the anxiety of the State of Connecticut for the extension of knowledge, in their admirable system of obliging under penalties, every child in the State to be taught to read and write, with the Austrian-like conduct of the Grand Jury of Charleston. He will then be convinced,

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if indeed he ever doubted it, of the vast moral superiority of the Northern over the Southern States.

* In justice, however, to the Austrian Autocrat it must be remarked, that he has not carried his wishes into effect, as our Southern Republicans have.

The moment any one hints at emancipation, all the slave-holders cry out about “their Rights, and Property.” It has been well observed in our House of Commons: “The horrible injustice and monstrous crime of kidnapping the father and mother, has given you no right to enslave the child.” If it do, why may not a man say, ‘I have murdered this child's father and mother, and therefore I have a right to murder him also?’

I, in common with every Englishman, rejoice that my country, which was the first to abolish the slave-trade, is now also leading the way in the abolition of Slavery. Notwithstanding however it has been declared in Parliament, that measures are contemplated for gradual emancipation in our 222 West India islands, yet the planters still display a violent and determined spirit of opposition, of which the following extract of circular, issued on the 30th of May, 1823, by the House of Assembly of Dominica, may serve as an example:

“Let us seize the moment to combine our efforts, and energetically mark our firm determination never to consent to kiss the rod, nor meekly ‘lick the hand just raised to shed our blood;’ but with one voice, denounce in the face of the world, the blind fanaticism of the Saints who would now, for a phantom, cast to perdition these once highly valued and still valuable colonies; while at the same moment they are looking on with cold-blooded apathy on the miseries of Ireland, their own poor, the thralldom preparing for the inhabitants of Greece and of Spain, and yea even of Europe at large.”

Methinks these “lambs” of planters, who talk about “licking the hand just raised to shed their blood,” would have done as well not to have taunted the Ministry with “the miseries of Ireland, and the thralldom preparing for Greece, Spain, and all Europe.”

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I have already, perhaps, said too much about the West Indians, but I cannot help inserting the following extracts from the *Demerara Colonist* of February 18, 1824, as containing the very essence of the enlightened opinions of these worthy gentlemen.

“If we expect to create a community of reading, 223 moral, church-going slaves, we are woefully mistaken.” “In what a predicament do the colonial proprietors now stand! Can the march of events be possibly arrested? Shall they be allowed to shut up the chapels, and banish the preachers and schoolmasters, and keep the slaves in ignorance? This would indeed be an effectual remedy, but there is no hope of its being applied.” “It is most unfortunate for the cause of the planters, that they did not speak out in time. They did not say, as they ought to have said, to the first advocates of missions and education: ‘We shall not tolerate your plans, 'till you prove to us that they are safe and necessary. We shall not suffer you to enlighten our slaves, who are our property, 'till you can demonstrate, that when they are made religious and knowing, they will continue to be our slaves.’”

These sentiments, in my humble opinion, would have done honour to the darkest period of the darkest ages. But indeed it is not enough for the West Indians to recal the days of ignorance; they seem to be utterly deficient in common humanity. Whoever considers how ungraciously they have received Lord Bathurst's circular, in which he humanely orders them to abstain from “flogging women,” must be convinced, that, if those humane and good men who advocate emancipation, deserve the name of “saints,” the planters deserve that of “devils.” Instead of sending out Missionaries to 224 instruct the poor Slaves, I would advise subscriptions for sending out Teachers, who might convert the “devils” to Christianity; for certainly those who speak and act like the planters, cannot be said to believe in that religion, the leading tenet of which is, “do unto others, as you would they should do unto you.”

The days of hard-hearted sophistry have, I trust, gone by, never to return, and every year the principles of liberty and humanity are gaining ground. “When,” says the *Edinburgh Review*, * “in the year 1775, some friends of humanity in the city of London began to look

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into the iniquities of the Slave-trade, and when the master of a Guinea trader was indicted for throwing 140 negroes overboard, literally to prevent their being charged to account, the Solicitor-General of that day took high ground, and said, 'he was not to be put down by a false cry of humanity, that had been raised to the prejudice of his client; that the slaves who had been thrown overboard, were, in the eye of the law, to all intents and purposes the property of the owners of the ship, and to be considered like any other part of the cargo; and that he must beg leave to protest against any plausible or high-coloured descriptions of the odium of the case, as irrelevant to the question, and an insidious appeal from law and reason (which ought to guide the

* Edinburgh Review of July 1821, article iv.

225 decision of the Court) to the passions and feelings of the multitude."

This "loathsome jargon," as the reviewers very properly call it, is now at an end, and would not be tolerated any where, where Slavery does not exist.

The people of the United States were at the framing of the constitution so sensible of the shame of tolerating negro Slavery, that they would not pollute this public document by the insertion of the word "slave."

"The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person."*

* Art. i. sec. 9. of the Constitution.

Can any one help shuddering at the wickedness and inconsistency of the people of Missouri, holding out in one hand a petition and demand to have all their *rights* as a *free State* recognized; and in the other, a declaration of their right to enslave and sell human beings? I am glad to say, that the New Englanders turned out such of their Representatives as did not oppose this union of Slavery and Democracy:—

Who can with patience for a moment see, This mingled mass of pride and misery, Of whips and charters, manacles and rights Of slaving Blacks and democratic Whites? T. Moore. Q

226

In despotic governments, which maintain “the right divine to govern wrong,” one would not be astonished to hear Slavery advocated. The United States, however, have denied this *right*, and maintain that “rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God;” a somewhat different doctrine. They have it is true abolished the slave-trade; but they have a little Africa within themselves. It is computed that every year from 10 to 15,000 slaves are sold from the States of Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, and sent to the south. I have seen a gang of these poor people chained to one another, walking on foot, while their white drivers rode by their side armed with whips and pistols. When they arrive at the town at which they intend to stop, the slaves are confined in the jail, while their drivers go to the tavern.

A slave auction is also a common thing, of every day occurrence. I will not attempt to describe the scenes that take place at them, or the cries and shrieks of fathers, mothers, and children, sold to different and distant States. The Blacks are in general very quiet people, and are uncommonly fond of their children. Let any one imagine how a father must feel at these auctions of human flesh! That they do feel may be proved by the following extract from a Maryland paper: “Cumberland, Oct. 27, 1822.

“Mr. W. Polling of this country was shot, on Sunday night last, about seven or eight miles from 227 this place, by a negro man belonging to Mr. Stewart of Virginia. The wife and children of the negro had been sold by their master; and Mr. Milbourne of this place, accompanied by Mr. Polling, were going to the house for the purpose of bringing them away. The negro fellow awaited their approach, and immediately lodged the contents of a musket in the side of the unfortunate Mr. Polling, who survived but a few hours. The murderer has been committed to the jail at Romney to await his trial.”

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A great proportion of the members of the Colonization Society of the United States, are Southerners and Slave-holders; and their ostensible object is to separate the *Free Blacks* from the Whites, and to settle them in some place in Africa, to which they can afterwards send any slaves they choose to liberate. Judge Washington, the nephew of the great Washington, is President of this society, and not long ago showed how sincerely he wished the abolition of Slavery, by selling all the slaves he had, to the number of nearly 100,—doubtless a highly laudable act. The Secretary also, Mr. Caldwell, thinks nothing of selling his blacks.

Most of the people of the Northern States look upon this society with the contempt which its hypocrisy deserves. If intended as the means of founding a colony, it may possibly succeed; but as a means of alleviating Slavery it does nothing. Q 2 228 The free blacks, however much the members of the society may wish it, are not in general willing to assist them in the plan of colonization. If they would export a few slaves, and settle them on the coast of Africa, then indeed something might be said for them.

Those who speak against emancipation would do well to read Dr. Franklin's letter to the editor of the "Federal Gazette," for March 23, 1790. It consists of a speech in the Divan at Algiers, and contains exactly the sentiments I have often heard advocated.—The English bombarded Algiers on account of some few Christian slaves. Are not the blacks Christians; or if they be not, whose fault is it?

When I hear people speak of the generous conduct of the English and Americans in abolishing the slave-trade, though I by no means undervalue this incipient return to humanity, I cannot help thinking of the speech made to me by an old Dutch Captain I met at Amsterdam. "Is it not," said he, "most ridiculous hypocrisy in you English, as well as in the Americans, to cry out that no one must trade in Slaves? Have you not filled your islands and plantations with these poor wretches? and now that you have enough, and can breed them at home, you try to stop the trade, and hinder others from doing what you

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yourselves have done. You might just as well, after importing some millions of Merino sheep, endeavour to prevent other nations from trading in those animals.”

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Slave-holders call themselves Christians, and profess to believe a doctrine that preaches “mercy and good-will towards men,” yet they do not hesitate to chain, flog, and sell human beings with the same unfeeling barbarity that they would a drove of Hogs. This may be seen by the following extract from the Washington Gazette, May 14, 1823.

PUBLIC SALE.

“By virtue of an order of the Orphans' Court of Prince George's County, will be sold, at public sale, on Tuesday the 3d day of June next, if fair, if not, the next fair day thereafter, at the dwelling-place of Tobias Duvall, all the personal estate of Mary Duvall, late of the said county, deceased, consisting of Negroes, (among which are young men, boys, and girls,) household and kitchen furniture, and one lot of good bacon.

“ Beall Duvall, Executor.”

I will only add, that the slave-holders attempt to prove from the Bible, that the black colour is the mark of Cain, and that consequently Slavery is just, right, and agreeable to the Almighty!

Just Allah! what must be thy look, When such a wretch before thee stands Unblushing, with thy sacred Book, Turning the leaves with blood-stain'd hand, And wresting from its page sublime His creed of lust, and hate, and crime? T. Moore.

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CHAPTER XII. MISSIONARIES—REGULATORS—SKUNK—HARMONY.

After leaving St. Louis, I returned fifty-four miles by the same road that I had before travelled, to the little Village of Carlyle, on the Kaskaskia. Having arrived there early on the

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second day and seen my horse taken care of, I went, for the want of something better to do, to hear a Sermon delivered by some Missionaries, who were going to the Wilderness for the purpose of converting Indians.

The sermon, as may easily be supposed was nearly incomprehensible. A conversation arose afterwards between the preachers and their auditors upon doctrinal points, when the Missionaries, who were thorough Calvinists, did not hesitate to declare, that only a certain portion of the human race, viz. the elect, would be saved. All the rest, or at least 999 out of every 1000 were of course to be damned.

I perhaps however may be allowed to doubt, whether the Missionaries were perfectly correct, in this their charitable and sensible exposition of the intentions of the Almighty; for I can myself hardly imagine, that the beneficent author of all things will “show his power,” as they call it, by sending such an immense proportion of the human race, into fire and brimstone. I cannot see, why a man 231 born in the centre of China, and who never even heard of Christianity, should of necessity be a “vessel of wrath,” whom the great Creator for his own better glorification, is to plunge into everlasting torments. Doubtless however I am wrong; for the Missionaries, going on with the subject, affirmed, that there were many *children* in the number of the non-elect; that there are infants in hell not a span long,—an amiable and enlightened doctrine, which has been also maintained in the Presbyterian Church at Philadelphia.

A woman who, like myself, was among the listeners, and who had just lost her child, was so much afflicted at this, that she began to cry. She knew not (and indeed how could she know?) whether her child was really one of the elect; and the idea of the bare possibility of its being in fire and brimstone distressed her terribly, and cost her an abundance of tears.

The reader may perhaps think, that the present system should be reversed; and that the Indians should send Missionaries to convert these unfortunate expounders of the Bible, to a more reasonable faith.

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At any rate, nothing can well be imagined more absurd, than the plan at present pursued by those wishing to convert the Aborigines to Christianity. Instead of preaching morality, instead of teaching them the useful arts, and of pointing out the advantages of civilization, and thus preparing them to quit their wild life and to adopt our mild doctrines; 232 the Missionaries begin at once by requiring the Indians to believe the most incomprehensible dogmas. In fact their object is not so much to make the Indians civilized beings and Christians—No, they must make them Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, or members of whatever other sect they themselves belong to. Consequently the Indians, shocked as may easily be supposed at this method of proceeding, and astounded at the dogmas which they are required to believe, consider the whole a trick, and despise it as such.

The Missionaries are also in general men of very inferior education; for of course few of those that can obtain any employment at home, will sally forth to preach in woods. Many of them are also not of the very strictest chastity. A gentleman travelling from New Orleans to Tennessee, when passing through the Indian territory, met a little boy who appeared to be too white for an Indian: “Pray my little fellow,” said the traveller, “are you a full-blooded Indian?” “No, Sir,” replied the boy, “I am half Indian, half Missionary.”

The Indians believe in one great incomprehensible Spirit, the Creator and Governor of all things; and although they have no altars, images, or temples, yet we may perhaps be permitted to believe, that their sincere and simple adoration may not be altogether displeasing to the Almighty. Indeed I should have been strongly tempted to hope, that these Indians, following the light of 233 nature and doing what they believe to be right, would not be in danger of eternal punishment: but alas! this pleasing hope is utterly annihilated by the 18th Article of our holy Religion.

“They,” it tells us, “are to be had accursed, that presume to say, that every man shall be saved by the Law or Sect which he profeseth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law and the Light of nature.”

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Being therefore myself a staunch High Churchman, and extremely unwilling to be had accursed, I am obliged to believe, that all these poor Indians will be damned; which I am sorry for, as I have known some among them, not only held in universal estimation, but who were really endowed with the utmost nobleness of soul. Of a truth I have heard it said by some philosophers, children of Belial, that this article is worthy of the one preceding it, (on predestination,) and that neither of them is consistent with the goodness of the Almighty. But I abhor and detest such profane reasoners, who will no doubt, in the next world, keep company with the Indians.

After leaving Carlyle, I took the Shawnee town road, that branches off to the S. E., and passed the Walnut Hills, and Moore's Prairie. These two places had a year or two before been infested by a notorious gang of robbers and forgers, who had fixed themselves in these wild parts, in order to avoid justice. As the country became more ²³⁴ settled, these desperadoes became more and more troublesome. The inhabitants therefore took that method of getting rid of them, that had been adopted not many years ago in Hopkinson and Henderson counties Kentucky, and which is absolutely necessary in new and thinly settled districts, where it is almost impossible to punish a criminal according to legal forms.

On such occasions therefore, all the quiet and industrious men of a district form themselves into companies, under the name of "Regulators." They appoint officers, put themselves under their orders, and bind themselves to assist and stand by each other. The first step they then take, is to send notice to any notorious vagabonds, desiring them to quit the State in a certain number of days, under the penalty of receiving a domiciliary visit. Should the person who receives the notice refuse to comply, they suddenly assemble, and when unexpected, go, in the night time, to the rogue's house, take him out, tie him to a tree, and give him a severe whipping, every one of the party striking him a certain number of times.

This discipline is generally sufficient to drive off the culprit; but should he continue obstinate, and refuse to avail himself of another warning, the Regulators pay him a second

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visit, inflict a still severer whipping, with the addition probably of cutting off both his ears. No culprit has ever been known to remain after a second visit. For instance, 235 an old man, the father of a family, all of whom he educated as robbers, fixed himself at Moore's Prairie, and committed numerous thefts, &c. &c. He was hardy enough to remain after the first visit, when both he and his sons received a whipping. At the second visit the Regulators punished him very severely, and cut off his ears. This drove him off, together with his whole gang; and travellers can now pass in perfect safety, where it was once dangerous to travel alone.

There is also a company of Regulators near Vincennes, who have broken up a notorious gang of coiners and thieves who had fixed themselves near that place. These rascals, before they were driven off, had parties settled at different distances in the woods, and thus held communication and passed horses and stolen goods from one to another, from the Ohio to Lake Erie, and from thence into Canada or the New England States. Thus it was next to impossible to detect the robbers, or to recover the stolen property.

While I was staying at the house of a Mr. Mulligan in Illinois, thirty miles from St. Louis, one of the men, who had belonged to the gang near Vincennes, was taken up on the charge of passing counterfeit money. He was searched when I was present, and some admirably executed base dollars were found upon him. He of course denied that he knew them to be forged; but was taken before a magistrate, and the shop-keeper at Carlyle, with 236 whom he had passed some forged money, was sent for. When however he offered the money, he had very cunningly said to the shop-keeper, who merely looked at it, in the same way as most people do on receiving money, "If you do not like it, or think it bad, I will change it." This he proved before the magistrate, and as the shop-keeper could not deny it, the forger was released: for by the American law, a man cannot be punished for only having forged money in possession. This man's name was Upshaw, a most notorious villain. He had not been long liberated, before the Regulators started after him, though whether they caught him, I do not know.

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This practice of *Regulating* seems very strange to an European. I have talked with some of the chief men of the Regulators, who all lamented the necessity of such a system. They very sensibly remarked, that when the country became more thickly settled, there would no longer be any necessity for such proceedings, and that they should all be delighted at being able to obtain justice in a more formal manner. I forgot to mention, that the rascals punished, have sometimes prosecuted the Regulators, for an assault. The Juries however, knowing the bad character of the prosecutors, would give but trifling damages, which divided among so many, amounted to next to nothing for each individual.

On my second day's journey after leaving Carlyle, 237 a great deal of snow had fallen, and as it got dark in the evening I lost my way, and had to sleep out in the woods. With a tomahawk which I carried fastened to my saddle, I cut down some small branches, struck a light, and setting fire to a large decayed tree that had been blown down, soon made a comfortable fire.

I had already slept out when hunting, but it was always in company, and with plenty to eat. The fasting after a long day's ride I found very disagreeable. My horse also was very much frightened by the wolves, which were numerous, and made a great noise. Some of them came pretty near my fire, but they are very cowardly, and I believe there is scarcely an instance of their attacking a man. Indeed, when I afterwards told some of the Backwoodsmen, that, from not having had a gun with me, I was somewhat afraid, they laughed at me, saying, there was no danger whatever of being attacked by the wolves, for they preferred hunting the deer who offered no resistance.

In the morning, by means of my compass, I found my way back to the road from which I had only been distant about three miles and a half. I stopped at the cabin of a hunter, who, just before I arrived, had killed a fine bear. I had some of its flesh served up, and found it excellent. Indeed I have at other times often eaten bear-meat; and can assure all European epicures, that it is most delicious.

The bear of the American forests lives almost entirely upon vegetable food, such as nuts and fruits. Sometimes indeed he catches a hog, which may be running wild in the woods; and if he could surprize a deer, he would no doubt make a meal of it, but the deer are too cunning and too fleet to give him an opportunity. Upon the whole, the bear is not much more carnivorous than the hog, and is a much cleaner animal.

I have been surprised to see how very fat these animals become, particularly in those parts of the country, where there is plenty of mast. Their fat is much prized by the hunters, as it never turns on the stomach, however great a quantity may be eaten. They all say, that one-fourth part as much of pork or beef-fat would make them sick, and give them a fit of the bile. An old hunter told me, that whenever he has found himself very cold, wet, and tired, and likely to be unwell the next day, he has swallowed a small cupful of bear's oil, laid down with his feet to the fire, and in the morning has found himself as well, and his limbs as pliable, as if he had just come from his home on a spring day. But whatever may be the virtues of bear's oil, I myself cannot say any thing about it from personal experience, having never drank a single drop of this panacea.

The woods in this part of the country abound with bees, in consequence of the Prairies being near, which in summer are covered with innumerable 239 flowers. It is a favourite amusement, at a particular season of the year, to go bee-hunting; and great quantities of honey are then collected. This the settlers, for the most part, use instead of sugar. I have been surprized at the number of gallons of honey, that a single bee's nest will sometimes yield. The bees make their nest in the hollow of a tree, and continue to increase their comb until the hollow space is quite or nearly filled. The honey is obtained by chopping down the tree, and killing or driving off the bees with branches.

The whole of this part of the country, until within a few miles of the little village of Carmi, is very wild, and but thinly settled: but there is an abundance of game. I passed, in a single

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day's ride, as many as a dozen deer, and five gangs of wild turkeys. There are also great numbers of wolves, wild cats, and other vermin.

About forty miles from Carmi, I had a most curious adventure, and one that caused me for some time afterwards a great deal of vexation. While crossing a small Prairie, I observed coming towards me in the middle of the path, a beautiful little animal, about two feet long, of a dark colour, with longitudinal white stripes down its back, a bushy tail, and very short legs. Intending to catch it, I immediately galloped forward to prevent its escape. To my astonishment, however, it did not attempt to run away, but stopped in the middle of the road, as if it had been tame. I came close up to it so that my horse's fore-feet almost touched it, when it drew up its back, and looked up at me, but still did not offer to escape. I at first intended to dismount and catch it; but considering that I could do nothing with it, and that perhaps it might bite me, I determined to leave it alone, and content myself with admiring it.

It would have been well for me if I had done so; but after having finished looking at it, a spirit of mischief (I can attribute it to nothing else) prompted me to lean forward on my horse, and strike it over the back with a small whip I had in my hand. Scarcely had the whip touched the animal's back, when, turning its posteriors towards me, and lifting up its hind-leg, it discharged a Stygian liquor, the odour of which I shall recollect till my dying day.—In an instant, the whole Prairie seemed to be filled with a stench, that is beyond all description. It was so powerful, pungent, and sickening, that at first it nearly made me faint, and I galloped away from the brute with all possible expedition.

I had previously supposed, that I had, in the course of my life, smelt very bad odours; but they were all perfumes compared to this. No one who has not experienced it can form any idea of such a horrid stench. Most fortunately, from the position in which I was, my horse had received the whole of this infernal water on his breast, and none of it had touched my clothes. If it had, I should have been obliged to destroy them; for I was afterwards informed, that no process, or length of time, will remove the smell from woollen cloth.

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This adventure happened early in the morning, and made me so sick that I could not eat any breakfast. Indeed I was ashamed to go into any house, well knowing how offensive both I and my horse must be. I rode my horse into the rivers, had him washed with soap and water, &c. &c.; but nothing would do. For a week afterwards I could never get upon him, without perceiving, in a most disagreeable degree, the stench of my little enemy. The man of the house, at which I stopped in the evening, immediately observed the offensive odour, with which I was infected. When I told him my adventure, and how I intended to have got off my horse to catch the animal, he laughed most heartily; and informed me that it was called the Skunk or Stinkard, and was common in that part of the country. He had no sooner mentioned the name, than I recollected that Dobrizhoffer, who has left so interesting an account of the Abipones, met with even worse treatment from one of these animals than I did.

My host stated, that whenever the hunters met any one of these animals in the woods, they avoided it, and called off their dogs, as the animal will never go out of its way. Sometimes the dogs, coming suddenly upon one, will molest it; upon R 242 which the Skunk will immediately eject an odoriferous stream upon them, and the dog which it strikes will lie down, roll over, and howl the same as if boiling water had been thrown upon him. It is the general belief among the hunters, that if any of this liquor were to get into the eyes, it would cause total blindness.

It is a most wonderful defence, that nature has given to this little animal, by which it is enabled to repel at once the largest and most formidable enemies! The Skunk never manifests its terrible odour, except when irritated, and when it intends to be offensive. It is the consciousness of this power that prevents its running away, and emboldens it to await, without fear, any attack whatsoever. Let all who may chance to meet one beware of insulting it.

The road for about twenty-five miles before arriving at Carmi, passes entirely through forest, the Prairie country having finished. Here indeed I took a last leave of the Prairies.

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Upon arriving at the village, I found a very comfortable little tavern, which a traveller knows how to appreciate, after the general bad accommodation he meets with. While sitting by the blazing fire, I asked the Landlord to lend me some book, with which I might wile away the evening. I was both surprized and pleased, when he brought me a volume of Goldsmith, and of the Scotch Novels. Seated by myself in this little backwoods inn, at such an immense distance from my country, I felt the greatest pleasure in re-perusing the Traveller and the Deserted Village. Few who have not been in the same situation can form any idea of the gratification I received from this trifling circumstance.

I now crossed the Little Wabash, on which river Carmi is situated, and proceeded through a very thickly wooded country towards Harmony. The road, about four miles before arriving at this place, passes through the low grounds, or as they are called, "the Flats" of the Big Wabash. The lands of the river bottoms, or flats, throughout the whole of the United States, are always reckoned very rich and productive, and those of the Wabash are particularly so. They are covered with immensely large trees, between which grows, in amazing luxuriance, that noble vegetable the Cane (*Arundinaria Macrosperma*).

This beautiful and useful plant attains the height of from twenty to thirty feet. The fertile tracts, where it grows, are called Cane Brakes, and are always full of herds of cattle, who are very fond of its leaves, which remain green all the winter.

The low grounds of the Wabash would be thickly settled, and soon covered with a swarming population; but during a month or two in the Autumn, Fevers and Agues seem to stalk about here, seeking whom they may destroy. Indeed the countenances of the few settlers bespeak how often they have been attacked by these diseases. Where the ground has been cleared for any considerable space, the sickness does not prevail to such an extent. This is the case with the settlement of Harmony; but, even there, the inhabitants had in the autumn suffered a great deal.

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The trees growing immediately on the banks of the Wabash, must, from their immense size, astonish every one. The Plane, with its long white arms, and the Tulip-tree (*Liriodendron tulipifera*) called by the Americans the Poplar, attain to an enormous magnitude throughout the whole of the Western States.

There is a ferry which conveys the traveller directly over the Wabash to Harmony. This pretty little town contains numerous well built, three-storied, brick houses, placed in regular streets, with a small railed garden to each, all conveying a great idea of comfort, particularly to a man travelling in the Backwoods. There are two churches with spires, on one of which is a clock, made by a settler, which strikes, even the quarters, upon some large bells that were imported on purpose. I had been so long without hearing anything of the kind, that during the week I remained there, the lively tones of these bells gave me great delight.

Mr. Rapp, the founder of the Society, was a dissenter from the Lutheran church, and finding himself persecuted by the clergy and the nobles, for the tenets he promulgated, came in 1803, from near Stutgard in Wurtemberg, to the United States, with nearly 400 adherents. They first settled at a place they called Harmony, in Butler county Pennsylvania, 25 miles from Pittsburg. Here their number was soon increased by emigration to near 800 souls, but not finding Pennsylvania in all respects suited to their views, they sent in 1814, three of their head men to choose another place. Accordingly, they have now fixed their residence 55 miles from Vincennes, 40 from Shawnee town, 24 from Birkbeck's Settlement, and 100 by water from the mouth of the Wabash.

By the sale of their houses, their improvements, &c., in Pennsylvania, they obtained a very large sum of money, and with this they purchased several thousand acres of the best land in Indiana. Upon arriving at their present abode, they erected log-cabins; but as they intended from the first to build brick houses, they marked out very carefully and with much regularity the intended streets of their town, and by placing the log-cabins at the back part

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of the different lots, left themselves sufficient space to erect their future habitations, without being obliged to move out of their old ones.

They have indeed proceeded in every thing with the greatest order and regularity. They possessed when I was there 100 brick buildings, had planted an extensive vineyard, and made considerable quantities of pleasant tasted wine. They carried on a very extensive system of agriculture, and their flocks and herds were uncommonly numerous. There 246 is a blacksmith's shop with two furnaces, a thrashing machine, a distillery, brewery, tannery, &c. There is also a large woollen and cotton-factory, the spindles and machinery of which are worked by steam, as is also their mill for grinding flour. Indeed they carry on almost every kind of useful manufacture, and make hats, shoes, sadlery, linen, cotton and woollen cloths, &c. Their broad cloth is very good; and their flannel of so excellent a quality, many of the English settlers at Albion say, that it is superior to the best Welsh flannel they brought out with them. Every one belongs to some particular trade or employment, and never interferes with the others, or even indeed knows what they are about. The only occasion on which they are all called out, is in the event of sudden bad weather, when the hay or corn is cut, but not carried. In such a case, Rapp blows a horn, and the whole community, both men and women, leave their occupations, run out to the fields, and the crop is soon gathered in, or placed in safety. There is a party of blacksmiths, shoemakers, weavers, shepherds, ploughmen or agriculturists, &c. Over every one of these trades there is a head man, who acts as an overseer, and who, in particular cases, as with the blacksmith, shoemaker, &c., receives payment for any work done for strangers. None of the inferiors of each occupation will receive the money. The head man, or foreman, always gives a receipt for the money he receives, 247 which receipt is signed by Rapp, who thus knows every cent that is taken, and to whom all the money collected is transferred. When any one of their number wants a hat, coat, or any thing else, he applies to the head man of his trade or employment, who gives him an order, which is also signed by Rapp, after which he goes to the store and gets what he wants.

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They have one large store, in which is deposited all the articles they manufacture. The neighbouring settlers for many miles round, resort to this, not only on account of the excellence, but also the cheapness of the goods. This store is managed by Mr. Baker, who holds the next rank to Rapp himself. The Harmonites have also branch stores in Shawnee town, and elsewhere, which they supply with goods, and which are managed by their agents.

An excellent house of private entertainment is kept by one of their number, named Ekensperker. Every thing here was so clean, comfortable, and well arranged, that I was quite delighted.

The house they have built for their founder Rapp, is very large and handsome, and would be esteemed a good house in any part of Europe. In the court-yard, Rapp has placed a great curiosity, which he brought from the shore of the Mississippi, near St. Louis. It is a block of marble of the size of a large tombstone, on which are two impressions of the human foot, so uncommonly well defined, perfect, and natural, as to be worthy even of Canova.

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The Indians certainly could not have executed anything of the kind; and the general opinion is, that some human being must have passed over the marble when it was of the consistency of clay, and thus have left the impression of his feet. The impressions indeed appear to have been made by some one who was running, or else stooping forward to pick up something. But I can hardly myself imagine, how or where a piece of marble could ever have been in so soft a state, as to receive the impression of a human foot. I hope that the marble will soon be inspected by some one competent to give an opinion, particularly as the impressions may at no great length of time be effaced, from being always left exposed to the weather.

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The religious tenets of the Harmonites are not very well known; but it is at any rate certain that they profess equality and the community of possessions. The most extraordinary part of their system is their celibacy; for the men and women live separate, and are not allowed any intercourse. In order to keep up their numbers they have once or twice sent agents to Germany to bring over proselytes, for they admit no Americans. Among those that last came over, were a great many children of both sexes.

Very few of the inhabitants of Harmony could speak English, and indeed the young boys and girls are chiefly educated in the German tongue. The policy of the head men appears to be, that of preventing, 249 as much as possible, any of their inferiors from communicating with the Americans, fearing no doubt, that they would see the folly of their system.

What struck me as very singular was, that no one would answer any questions. Even my host Ekensperker, when I asked if they were permitted to marry, what became of all the money they collected &c. invariably replied, "We never answer these questions." Some few persons have seceded from this society. These have generally been young men, who sacrificing fanaticism to nature, have gone off with young women and married them. By good fortune I chanced to meet one of these men, and learned from him a few particulars of the sect; but even he did not appear to be very willing to communicate what he knew. He told me that marriage was interdicted; but could give me no reason why it was. Moreover he told me, that it is unknown what becomes of all the money Rapp receives. Now this must be a very considerable sum, as the Harmonites neglect no means of amassing money. For instance, they send every year boats laden with produce to New Orleans; and the little settlement of Albion has paid them altogether nearly 60,000 dollars, though at present it is rapidly becoming independent of them.

The Harmonites will receive in payment no other money but specie or United States Bank notes. At the same time they expend nothing; 250 and indeed money appears to be of no use to men, producing food, and manufacturing all necessaries within their own

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settlement. Every thing is sold in Rapp's name, and all the money is transmitted to him, even the proceeds of the house of entertainment and the doctor's shop.

This secrecy about the great sums that must be collected annually by the united labour of seven or eight hundred industrious individuals, possessed of a great deal of skill, and having the entire monopoly of the neighbouring country, has, I must confess, a very suspicious appearance, especially as Rapp holds a correspondence with Germany. At the same time, as he is an old man, and never intends to leave Harmony, I do not see any thing he could gain by sending away the money.

The Harmonites all dress, very plainly and wear nearly the same clothes; but Rapp and the head men live in better houses, and have plenty of wine, beer, groceries, &c.; while the rest of their brethren are limited to coarse, though wholesome food, are debarred the use of groceries, &c., have a less quantity of meat, and are even obliged to make use of an inferior kind of flour.

In their celibacy, and in some other points, they resemble the Shakers, though they differ from them in refusing to admit proselytes. They are in fact only a somewhat improved order of industrious monks and nuns, except that they are very unwilling to have any thing known about themselves, 251 and are by no means anxious to make converts. If they spoke English, and were allowed a free intercourse with the Americans, they would soon learn, that with the same habits of temperance, industry, and economy, they could in that rich and fertile district have every comfort they at present enjoy, with the additional satisfaction of amassing money for themselves, and of having children who would doubtless rise to opulence and consideration.

At present however Rapp points out to them the difference between their situation and that of the Backwoodsmen in the neighbourhood, leaving them to suppose, that this superiority is owing to their peculiar tenets and mode of life. Moreover, as I am informed, Rapp, like all other Priests, holds out eternal punishment in the next world to those who secede. Like

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the Virgilian “Rex Anius, rex idem hominum, Phœbique Sacerdos,” he is both Governor and Priest, preaching to them in church and managing when out of it their pecuniary affairs. Hence this society presents the extraordinary spectacle of a most complete despotism in the midst of a great republic: for with the exception perhaps of being a little better clothed and fed, the lower orders of the Harmonites are as much vassals, or more so, than they were in Germany.

The settlement was once a benefit to the neighbourhood; but at present most of the Americans 252 consider it as injurious. At first the people, for a great distance around the Settlement, being supplied with goods that they could not easily procure elsewhere, considered it advantageous to them; but they now think precisely the contrary; for the Harmonites, not having to pay their workmen, are enabled to under-sell every one who would wish to set up a store, and thus prevent competition. Moreover, as in exchange for their cloths, linens, hats, whiskey, &c., they receive vast sums of money which they never spend, and thus diminish the circulating medium of the country.

“If,” say the Americans, “an ordinary merchant could come among us, and set up a store, as he grew rich he would increase his expenditure, and the money would circulate and enrich those who supplied him with meat, bread, &c.; but these people spend nothing, and therefore we should be very glad to see their society destroyed.”

Old Rapp has transferred most of the active superintendence of the temporal concerns of the society to his adopted son Frederic Rapp, thus accustoming the people to a sort of hereditary despotism. We may however very much doubt, whether the society will hold together after the old man's death, an event which in the course of nature must soon take place.

The people, under the present system, are a set of well-fed, well-clothed, hard-working vassals. They are very grave and serious. During the 253 whole time I was at Harmony, I never saw one of them laugh; indeed they appeared to me to enjoy only a sort of

melancholy contentment, which makes a decided difference between them and the inhabitants of the other parts of the country, who without fanaticism or celibacy, find themselves well off and comfortable.

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CHAPTER XIII. CUT-MONEY—AMERICAN FARM-HOUSE—TITLES

I was quite sorry to quit my comfortable lodging at Harmony, and again encounter the bad fare of the Backwoods taverns; but being anxious to proceed, I summoned up courage and set off.

After passing through a low, heavily timbered country, which when cleared is very fertile, I came to the Ohio at the Diamond Island ferry, so called from a large and beautiful island in the middle of the stream. Owing to the badness of the road, it was nearly dark when I crossed over to the Kentucky side of the river; and I was therefore obliged to put up at a small cabin, the owner of which bade me welcome, though he was sick in bed, and his wife gave me the best fare that his humble means could command.

This log hut, from being so near to the river, was very much infested with rats. They were the largest and boldest I had ever seen, and ran about without either regarding me or the sick man. What however surprised me the most was, that there was a cat sitting by the fire which never attempted to molest them, nor indeed did the rats appear to be alarmed at her presence. The owner of the cabin said, "I bought the cat hoping she would drive the rats away, but when on her first arrival she caught one, it not only defended itself stoutly, but by its screams brought several others to its assistance who attacked the cat and *whipped* her."*

* "To whip," all through the Western States answers to our verb "to beat," and is by the lower class always made use of in that signification; as "The Americans whipped the

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English at New Orleans;" "I can whip any man in the country at running;" "A panther will whip half a dozen dogs."

I spent a great part of the night in wishing that I had such a redoubtable cat as Whittington's; for these troublesome rats, by scampering about the cabin and jumping upon my bed, kept me awake several hours. The next morning I proceeded to Madisonville, a small village, where there is a tolerable tavern; and from thence to Greenville, a still smaller village, where the tavern was most execrable.

Most of these villages, throughout the greater part of the division of Kentucky, called the Greenriver Country, are very much upon the decline, and will no doubt shortly cease to exist. They were founded during the late war with Great Britain, and owed their existence, not to any want of villages in these places, but to the unnatural state of things caused by a great war expenditure, by an immense issue of paper money, and by the efforts of speculators to enhance the value of their lands in the neighbourhood. As soon as the war ceased, the great expenditure ceased also, as well 256 as the demand for produce, &c. &c. The currency was also changed from paper to specie, and hence those who had easily borrowed money found it impossible to repay it. This occasioned the ruin of numbers of industrious people, and produced a degree of distress unparalleled in any country, with the exception perhaps of England.

If any one wished to be convinced of the folly, not to say the tyranny, of any government's making great issues of paper money, and then suddenly contracting the currency, he could not fix upon a stronger instance than the State of Kentucky.

In a Republic, where the whole power is in the hands of the people, such mismanagement could never have happened, had the subject been understood; but unhappily it was not. Hence the State of Kentucky was plunged into such distress, that it was obliged in some degree to violate the constitution of the United States, and to make a currency of its own. This, though it at first alleviated the distress, which was prodigious, has ultimately proved

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a bad expedient. When I was in Kentucky, paper was only half the value of specie, and at one time it was only two-fifths of the value. No such a thing as a silver coin of any kind was to be seen in circulation, and notes of 4, 6 $\frac{1}{4}$, and 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents. formed a substitute for copper.

Any one was at liberty to issue these and numerous other promissory notes below the value of a 257 dollar; and though no one was obliged to take them, yet from the total want of small change they were seldom refused. Hence notes were issued by some individuals who were absolutely worth nothing; a fraud soon discovered, and incapable of being carried to any great extent, but which nevertheless from the frequency of its occurrence was very injurious to the public.

I myself, in common with other travellers, suffered so much by these notes, that, in order to avoid taking them, I was obliged to cut a silver dollar, into quarters, and even into eighths; a practice so common in the Western States, that the *cut-money*, as it was called, was the only change that could be had in Missouri. Here again a dexterous person easily committed a fraud, as it was by no means uncommon to cut a dollar into five quarters, or nine-eighths, if I may be allowed such expressions. Of course, the difference between an eighth and a ninth could not be perceived without a good deal of examination.

The road from the Diamond Island to Greenville, a distance of about sixty-five miles, passes through a tract of apparently fertile country; but which is thinly settled, and, like many portions of Kentucky, does not appear to be much improving; partly because slavery is permitted, and partly because there is great difficulty in obtaining satisfactory titles to lands.

Leaving Greenville, I took the road to Morgantown, 258 but had not proceeded more than fourteen miles before my horse cut his foot, and as I was afraid he would be lamed if I continued my journey, I stopped at a large farm-house belonging to a Mr. Rhoades. My host had a fine family of children, several of them grown up. Mrs. Rhoades was a perfect

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model of a farmer's wife. Indeed American women, throughout all the backwoods, are the most industrious females I have ever seen in any country. I had often remarked this; but never till I came to Mr. Rhoades's had I so good an opportunity of learning the minutiae of their employments.

Besides the labour of cooking, cleaning the house, &c. the American farmer's wife makes every article of clothing for her whole family. The men wear a sort of coarse cloth made of cotton and wool. The cotton is grown upon the farm, is picked, spun, weaved, dyed with the indigo that also grows on the farm, cut up, and made into clothes by the female part of the family. The wool of their own sheep furnishes materials for the mixed cloth, stockings, &c. All the linen for shirts, sheets, and towels, is also made at home from their own flax.

I was quite surprised to see the activity and industry of my hostess. Directly after breakfast, which was on the table every morning at sunrise, she and her two daughters commenced their daily occupations of spinning, &c. One of the girls was engaged in making an entirely new suit of clothes for her father and eldest brother, from some of the cloth that had been just finished. The other, with her mother, was busily employed in spinning, as a black servant girl was in weaving. At the close of the day, after supper, the whole party sat round the fire employed in picking the seeds from the raw cotton.

The old woman was very talkative and good-humoured, and related to me some very curious anecdotes of their first settling in Kentucky, which happened soon after it was discovered, and at the time when the Indians used to be troublesome. Old Mr. Rhoades, who, in early life, had been a great and skilful hunter, had also numerous interesting stories of the savage foe, and of the dangers incurred when following the buffalo and elk. These anecdotes were every now and then broken in upon, by a good-natured laugh, at my awkwardness in picking cotton; for although I took some pains to learn the art, I made but a bad hand at it, picking but a small quantity, and that at the expense of making my fingers very sore. The chief produce of this farm was Indian corn and oats. Wheat, throughout the whole of this part of the country, does not grow well, and after it is got in,

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is nearly always destroyed by the weevil. Mr. Rhoades, the year before, had had a pretty good crop, but it was very much injured by this destructive insect.

I remained nearly a week at this comfortable S 2 260 abode, employing myself during the day-time in hunting (there being plenty of deer and wild turkeys in the woods), and during the evening in picking cotton, and listening to the stories about the Indians and the first settlers. When I went away, my worthy host refused to receive any thing from me, and gave me a hearty invitation to repeat my visit.

I had very foolishly omitted to inquire whether Muddy River was fordable or not; so that when upon coming there I found neither a ferry nor a bridge, I supposed it to be fordable, and ventured in, without making the necessary preparations. Although the river had risen considerably above its banks, in consequence of the rain, yet I went on through a great part of the stream with only wetting my feet and the skirts of my saddle. But when I had arrived within thirty or forty yards of the opposite side, I plumped all of a sudden into the channel of the river, and got terribly ducked, which was the more disagreeable as it was freezing. My horse being an excellent swimmer easily carried me to the shore; but my watch, and United States' bank notes, were very much wetted—a misfortune which would not have happened if, as whenever previously I was obliged to swim a river, I had secured them in my hat and neckcloth.

I was so chilled by this sudden and unexpected immersion, that I was obliged to stop at a small log house near the river bank. The owner received me very hospitably, made up a bed for me, and, as I felt very unwell, administered the only remedy he knew—whiskey mixed with pepper. This extraordinary draught, which is probably not to be found in any Pharmacopœia, made me feel as if I had swallowed liquid fire; but by throwing me into a violent perspiration, prevented me from experiencing any harm from the accident.

The next morning, finding myself quite recovered, I proceeded on my journey, and arrived in the evening at Morgantown. This place merely consists of a few straggling houses,

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and scarcely deserves the name even of a village. The man who had kept a tavern here had shut up his house, considering that his gains did not repay him for his trouble. He told me however, that as I was a stranger I was perfectly welcome to stay with him. The next morning he refused to receive any money, saying, "I used to charge when I kept open house, but now that I do not, I take nothing, though glad to show hospitality to any occasional traveller."

From Morgantown I took the road to Bowling Green, and halted a night at a farm-house on Gaspar's river. On the banks of this stream are a great many Indian tumuli, some of which have been opened by the people in the neighbourhood, who have however found nothing in them, but a few bones, and some fragments of rude earthenware.

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Bowling Green is a flourishing little town, situated on the bank of Green River, a stream of considerable magnitude, that rises in Lincoln county Kentucky, and after a long meandering course, falls into the Ohio.

While passing the evening in the tavern at which I put up, and which was very comfortable, some Eastern newspapers arrived, in one of which there was a copy of the decision of the Emperor of Russia, with regard to the slaves taken from the United States by the British, during the last war. I may here mention, first, that the dispute on this subject, had, by mutual consent, been referred to Alexander, who decided in favour of the United States; and secondly, that the American government has no secrets, and therefore publishes all treaties, &c. as soon as they are signed.

The Americans, who were sitting round the fire, were highly amused at the titles which Count Nesselrode had affixed to his name. Besides half a dozen offices that he held, he had thought fit to inform the world, that he was first class of this order, and second class of that; great cross of one and little cross of another, and so on for half a page.

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This exuberant display of titles gave an additional effect to the modesty of the American diplomatist, who had merely called himself "H. Middleton, citizen of the United States."

The Count's titles, and the remarks made upon 263 them, afforded the Americans a constant laugh during the whole evening. These ignorant people were unaware, that it is impossible now-a-days to become a truly great man, without a quantum suff. of orders; and that the value of these, which were once only bestowed on the meritorious, has been very much increased by being conferred on the most worthless individuals.

To show in what light the people of the United States look upon titles, I insert the following letter from Mr. Coles, the Governor of Illinois.

" Gentlemen, "December 10, 1822.

"Our State Constitution gives to the person exercising the functions of the Executive, the appellation of Governor—a title which is specific, intelligible, and Republican, and amply sufficient to denote the dignity of the office.

"In your last paper you have noticed me by the addition of 'His Excellency,' an aristocratical and high sounding adjunct, which I am sorry to say has become too common among us, not only in newspaper annunciations, but in the addressing of letters, and even in familiar discourse. It is a practice disagreeable to my feelings, and inconsistent, as I think, with the dignified simplicity of freemen, and to the nature of the vocation of those to whom it is applied. And having made it a rule through life, to address no one as His Excellency, 264 or the Honourable, or by any such unmeaning title, I trust I shall be pardoned for asking it as a favour of you, and my fellow citizens generally, not to apply them to me.

"I am, &c. &c. "Edward Coles."

"Messrs. Brown and Berry, Editors of the Illinois Intelligencer."

The legislature of the State of New York has also passed a resolution to abolish the absurd practice of calling a Governor, "His Excellency," and Senators "the Honourable." Several other States have followed this example.

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CHAPTER XIV. MAMMOTH CAVE.

Within three miles of Bowling Green is a mill situated in what the people term a *Sink Hole*. This is a remarkably large and deep cavity, into which a considerable stream precipitates itself, and disappears under ground. The road leading to Nashville passes close to it; and while proceeding on what you imagine to be nearly a level surface, you find yourself suddenly upon the brink of a frightful precipice, from which you might jump down upon the roof of the mill below.

The whole country, for a very great distance round, is limestone, in which there are numerous and curious caves, of which the Mammoth Cave is the most famous. One day's journey brought me to this great cavern, which is situated close to Green River, and is the greatest natural curiosity in the Western States. For several miles before arriving, the road passes through a chain of low hills covered with short stunted timber, and from that circumstance called by the people "the Kentucky Barrens."

I was received by Mr. Miller, the owner of the house near the cavern, with his usual politeness and affability, and was invited to take up my abode with him as long as I chose to stay. The cave belongs to two gentlemen of Lexington, and proved very valuable during the last war, as 5 cwt. of saltpetre were manufactured in it daily. It is very remarkable, that scarcely any persons, except those engaged in the manufacture of saltpetre, have had the curiosity to visit the place.

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Mr. Miller, one of his friends, and myself, proceeded, the day after my arrival, to explore this subterranean wonder. We were well provided with candles, and carried with us a small lamp, and a pot full of oil to replenish it.

The entrance to the cave is situated at about a quarter of a mile from the bank of Green River, which was at one time supposed to flow over a branch of it. But I myself think that this is not the case, as very soon after entering the cave, the passage turns off in a direction leading from the river. The road from the house is very precipitous, and at the bottom of a narrow ravine, the cliffs on each side of which are about fifty feet high. Within 200 yards of the house, and in the right-hand cliff, is the mouth of the cavern.

The day was extremely cold; the ground was covered with a deep snow; and a small stream that seemed to fall from the rock close to the entrance of the cave was converted into one enormous pillar of ice. Immediately upon entering the cavern the passage is very narrow, and so low, that I was obliged to stoop to avoid knocking my head against the roof. This part is called the *Narrows*, 267 and the air rushed into it with the greatest violence. As soon as we had passed the Narrows, which extend only about twenty yards, I found myself in a fine large, and lofty chamber, which is the beginning of the main passage. We here lighted our candles, and proceeded on our subterraneous excursion.

The main passage or branch of the cave is upon an average fifty feet wide and forty high, though in many places it far exceeds these dimensions. Unlike most caverns in which I have been, it is perfectly dry; and for a considerable distance, the limestone bottom is smooth and pleasant to walk upon.

At about 200 yards from the entrance we came to "the first Hoppers," where the saltpetre was once made. Since the peace the cave has not been worked; for, owing to the very high price of labour in this part of the United States, the importers of foreign saltpetre could undersell the proprietors. At this spot there is a large branch that turns off, called "the Right-hand Chamber." It is about thirty feet wide, from twenty to thirty high, and half a mile

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long. Several small passages branch off from it. I went about a quarter of a mile in this chamber, and then returned, as I did not wish to delay visiting the other more remarkable parts of the cavern.

There were myriads of bats hanging by their hind-feet to the walls and roof of this chamber, 268 and forming clusters very similar to the bunches of muscles, that I have seen attached to the chalk rocks near Brighton. They all appeared to be nearly torpid, and with the exception of two or three that I took from the walls, gave us no annoyance; though while the light of our candles shone upon them, some made a noise, not unlike the faint chirping of a cricket. The smell caused by such a multitude of these animals was very unpleasant. It would be a curious speculation to calculate how many *bushels* there were of them; for I imagine that, like Ali Baba's money, they could not be counted in a less compendious manner.

Returning to "the first Hoppers," we proceeded along the main passage to "the second Hoppers," which are very little more than a third of a mile from the mouth of the Cavern. Here we turned off into what is called "the Haunted Chamber." After walking a considerable distance in this chamber (which is two miles in length, and is, in many parts, of nearly equal dimensions with the main passage), we came to a part where there are a great many large pillars of Stalactite. One of them, which does not quite touch the ground, is called "the great Bell;" for when struck with a large stone it gives a hollow reverberating sound, just like the tolling of the large bell of a church. The sound echoing along these large vaults, causes a peculiarly melancholy feeling, aided not a little by the knowledge that one is so far under ground, 269 with several hundred feet of solid rock over one's head.

A little further on is a curious mass of stalactite much resembling an old fashioned high-backed chair. In honour of one of the proprietors of the cavern, this has been called "Mr. Wilkins's armchair." Close to it is a very pretty little stream which drops into a natural basin

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of stalactite. I found a draught of this beautifully clear water very refreshing, as the Cave was remarkably warm, and my walk had made me thirsty.

Leaving "the Arm Chair," we proceeded to the termination of the upper branch of "the Haunted Chamber." This is about one mile from "the Second Hoppers." Here the rock is cleft by a very narrow, but exceedingly lofty fissure, into which only one person can enter at a time. The path, winding through this, descended rapidly for some distance, and brought us to the entrance of the second or lower branch of "the Haunted Chamber," which runs back nearly below the floor of the Upper Branch. The effect produced by the light on the lofty roof of this narrow passage, while I felt myself as it were pushing my way into the bowels of the earth, was very extraordinary. At one place the passage suddenly expands, and the roof rises in the form of a dome to the height of sixty or seventy feet. Below this dome is an immense rock which occupies a great part of the open space, and appears at one time to have nearly filled it. This rock has been named "Lucifer's Judgment Seat;" and verily Lucifer could not have chosen a more imposing or grand situation.

Just at the entrance of the lower branch of the Haunted Chamber is a considerable spring, which spouts out from a ledge near the lofty roof, and falls into a very large and deep cavity. There is most probably another large branch or passage excavated by this water; but it has never yet been explored. Any one wishing to examine this place, must be lowered by a rope for at least twenty feet, after which he might follow the course of the water. But no one has as yet attempted to descend, either into this opening, or indeed into any similar one, of which there are several in different parts of the cave. It is to these falling springs that Mr. Miller principally attributes the purity of the air throughout the cavern.

We now went on to the end of the lower branch of the Haunted Chamber, which is two miles from "the Second Hoppers." Here we were obliged to turn and retrace our steps, as this chamber is much lower than the rest of the cave, and has no communication with it, except by the same way that we came. At the extreme end, my pocket thermometer

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stood at 63° of Fahrenheit, whereas at the mouth of the cave it was only 5°. From this great change we all felt the heat rather oppressive. It is this difference of temperature that causes the air to rush into the narrows with such violence; 271 but Mr. Miller informed me, that during the hot summer months, it rushes with equal violence in the contrary direction. There are several branches that strike out from both halves of the Haunted Chamber. One in the lower half which I entered for a few steps, contained great quantities of most beautiful Glauber salt. Some of the pieces weighed near a pound, were of a brilliant white colour, and in a very perfect state of crystallization. Many barrels of this had been carried out and sold.

I did not enter any of the other smaller branches, but returned to “the Second Hoppers,” beyond which place the floor of the cavern has only been worked for a short distance. The earth, that is mixed with the fragments of broken rock, contains the saltpetre, and used to be carried in a small cart, drawn by oxen, to both the Hoppers, where it was washed. Just beyond “the Second Hoppers” is a small dripping spring and a curious mass of stalactite, that served as a feeding trough for the oxen, which were constantly kept there. On some pieces of their dung which were near this place, a curious and beautiful cryptogamous plant had grown. I brought some specimens of this with me to England, and, through a friend, presented them to the Linnean Society. This plant turns out, I believe, to be a new species.

At a little distance from the spring is a large mass of ashes, near which some human bones were found. I saw the skull at a tavern about six miles 272 from the cave. It is of most astonishing thickness being at least double that of an ordinary skull.

Beyond the place where a path was made for the oxen, the floor of the cavern is covered with large fragments of rock confusedly piled on one another, which makes walking rather difficult, and very fatiguing. I persuaded Mr. Miller to walk on about thirty steps in front of me, and his friend to remain at the same distance behind, and thus by putting out my own candle, I enjoyed the best possible view of this grand subterraneous cavity.

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It is impossible to describe the effect produced by the distant light, which showed the vast irregular floor and fine vaulted roof. I could almost fancy that I was about to visit the infernal regions. Nothing demonstrated the sized and loftiness of the cave, more than the apparent diminutiveness of my companions; and the fine effect was heightened by the motion of the lights, and the consequent varying of the shadows, which were thrown by the huge masses of rock piled against the sides. Owing to the very undulating and irregular surface of the floor, the person in front occasionally disappeared, and I could only see the light he carried gleaming and shifting about on the roof and sides. Then again it would appear and mount up, as if about to pierce through the roof.

I think that every one who visits this cavern, would do well to adopt the same plan of seeing it, 273 that I did, with the additional improvement of having several more persons to carry lights.

The grey-coloured roof is in many places so even and smooth, that I was almost tempted to suppose it artificial.

Having proceeded a long way beyond “the Second Hoppers” we arrived at “the Grand Hall” or “Grand Crossing.”

The roof is in parts at least seventy feet high, and the floor which is irregular in form cannot be of less dimensions than an acre. By placing ourselves in different parts we obtained a pretty good view of this vast Hall, but we had not lights enough to render the whole simultaneously visible. Here, while I gazed at my companions as they sat on different fragments of rock, with the red light glaring upon them, I could almost fancy them statues, placed there by some mighty spirit to deter all intruders from entering.

Continuing to advance in the main passage, we passed a very rough and rocky part of the cavern, where the whole floor was so thickly powdered with small crystals of Glauber Salt, that it resembled a hoar frost, and rendered walking very unpleasant and slippery.

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Every here and there in the cavern are found large poles, and broken pieces of cane burnt at the ends, which were no doubt made use of by the Indians, who attempted to explore it, having been found there by the first whites, who, a few T 274 years ago, discovered and penetrated into these subterraneous passages.

Proceeding onwards, we came to "the Great Black Hall," so called from the colour of the sides and roof. In one part of this is a singular mass of white rock, which, when the light shines upon it, forms a strong contrast to the dark colour of the surrounding walls. It has been called "the Devil's Throne," and from its peculiar appearance and situation, put me in mind of the throne of Lucifer, as described in that curious tale, the Caliph Vatheck. I prevailed on Mr. Miller to ascend this rock with the light in his hand, while I retired to the further part of the chamber. When he was standing on the top, which rises upwards of twenty feet above the lowest part of the floor, I could almost fancy that gentleman, who is a man of great stature, to be his Satanic Majesty himself, presiding in this his Hall.

We continued advancing until we were, according to Mr. Miller's account, about two miles and a half from the mouth of the cave. From the fatigue of walking on such an uneven surface, and the violent perspiration occasioned by taking so much exercise in such an increased temperature, I began here to be somewhat tired. I therefore determined to return to the House, and to re-enter the cavern the next day, taking with me more lights, and some provision, that I might stay as long as I pleased. Mr. Miller informed me, 275 that it was not more than half a mile to the extreme end, to which he had himself penetrated several times; "but," added he, "you will not see any thing worth the trouble of the walk, as, instead of increasing, the cave diminishes in size."

The different distances I have mentioned are upon the authority of Mr. Miller, who has measured many of them. I have no doubt that they are nearly correct; though being myself unaccustomed to such long walks under ground, I should have supposed many of them to be greater than he said they were.

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There are many chambers and branches leading from the main passage, which Mr. Miller wished me to visit, but which, from a foolish procrastination, I deferred seeing, and consequently, as it too often happens in such cases, I never saw at all.

We were just six hours and a half from the time we lighted our candles until we put them out again. During the whole of this time we had been walking at a good pace and did not sit down more than three times, and then only for a few minutes.

On returning from so long a subterraneous expedition, I found the light very painful to my eyes, particularly as the pure snow and numerous icicles at the mouth of the cave were sparkling in the rays of the sun, and therefore made a very strong contrast to the "darkness visible" of the interior. But this pain in the eyes was the least misfortune T 2 276 I experienced; for upon quitting the cave, and forgetting to wait until I was cool, the icy air rushing in at the narrows gave me such a cold and stiff neck, that although I staid at Mr. Miller's four days longer, I never dared to re-enter the cavern.

Though I visited only a portion of this subterranean wonder, I saw the most interesting part, and indeed as much as is worth any person's while to see, unless he wishes to gratify his vanity by saying he has seen the whole.

It is however much to be desired that some one would give an accurate and complete description of so extraordinary a place. This could not be done in less than a day and a half, or two days; but by taking in some provisions, it might easily be accomplished. The cavern would not by any means be an unpleasant place to sleep in, as it is dry and warm; and the air is rendered remarkably pure by the falling water of the springs, and also by the abundance of nitre.

This cave has indeed been visited by a Mr. N. Ward, who has given a description of it, accompanied with a pretended map. This person, who seems to have been endowed with a vivid imagination, does not hesitate to affirm that he went in and followed the main

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passage, without coming to the end, for *eleven* miles!! Mr. Miller, who has lived on the spot for fifteen years, assured me that 277 he had several times been to the end of the cavern, and that it is not is not more than three or at most three miles and a quarter from the mouth. As Mr. Miller acted as agent for the proprietors while the cave was worked for saltpetre, he may be considered good authority. Mr. Ward also affirms, that the floor of the Grand Hall is of the size of eight acres, an account very symptomatic of intentional exaggeration. His map, which I examined before I went in, proves still more than either of the instances I have adduced, that works upon topography should not be written by lovers of the marvellous.

The proprietors of the cave are unwilling that any accurate survey of it should be made; for although they possess several thousand acres round the mouth, there is little doubt but that, from the vast extent of the cave, it goes beneath some other person's property. By help of an accurate map a shaft might be sunk; and in the event of another great demand for saltpetre, a part of the cave might be worked to the detriment of the present proprietors.

They do not however object to any one's taking in a compass with them, and this would enable a person to take a sufficiently accurate plan of it for all purposes of mere curiosity.

It was called the Mammoth Cave, not from any of the mammoth bones being found in it, but in 278 consequence of its enormous size. I much doubt indeed if there be any where in the habitable globe a natural cavern of more noble dimensions.

The whole country in the neighbourhood is full of smaller caves. In one of these was found, together with some curious ornaments, the Mummy of an Indian, preserved with gum and aromatic herbs. This mummy is at present in a Museum in the Eastern States. Mr. Ward does not blush to affirm, that he himself found it in a recess of the Mammoth Cave, though he received it from Mr. Miller on the express condition of his presenting it to the Boston Museum. This he took care not to do, until he had made a sum of money by

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exhibiting it, and was only prevented from selling it by the threats of the proprietors of the cavern.

Within a quarter of a mile of Mr. Miller's house, I visited a cave not more than 100 yards long, which, from the great quantities of Brilliant Stalactite it contains, is called the "White Cave." The Stalactite assumes a thousand grotesque forms, such as those of the most beautiful drapery, and of the most curious Gothic sculpture. Indeed the cave would be a model for a fairy grot. In one part there is a basin of Stalactite into which a spring drops from the roof. It appears carved and ornamented with the most exquisite skill, and in form very much resembles one of those immense shells, placed in Catholic countries at the door of the church, to contain the holy water. So clear and beautiful is the water of this basin, that it appeared not to reach within six inches of the brim; so that when under this impression I stooped down to drink, I found that I had miscalculated the distance. The water in reality reached to the edge, and Mr. Miller was much diverted at seeing me by mistake plunge my head into it.

There is abundance of game in the neighbourhood of the cave. The manner in which great numbers of wild turkeys are caught is very simple and curious. A Pen is made by placing rough-hewn rails one above another, so as to form a vacant space, about six or eight feet long and as many broad, which is closed at the top by heavy rails laid across. A small trench is then dug for a yard or two on the outside and continued under the lowest rail into the interior. In this trench some Indian corn is strewed, and the turkeys, while employed in picking it up, advance with their head downwards into the Pen.

As soon as they find themselves in the enclosure, these stupid birds never think of stooping down, or they could walk out as easily as they walked in; but instead of this they try to force a way out at the top and sides, and continue jumping about in great alarm, till some one in the course of the day visits the Pen and secures them.

I have known as many as seven or eight caught within four and twenty hours in a single Pen.

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CHAPTER XV. SUGAR CAMP—CHILLICOTHE—INDIAN ANTIQUITIES.

Upon leaving Mr. Miller's I took the road to Frankfort, passing through the little towns (as they are called) of Newmarket, Lebanon, Perryville, Harrodsburgh and Lawrenceburgh. With the exception of Harrodsburgh all these are insignificant little villages, and, as I have mentioned before, are much upon the decline. The whole distance from the cavern to Frankfort is 130 miles; but, except to the agriculturist, the country through which the road passes is very uninteresting.

I staid a few days at Frankfort, and then began my return to the Eastward. At Lexington I found that preparations were making to celebrate the anniversary of the birth-day of Washington. Accordingly three orations were pronounced, one in the College, and two in the largest Church. I was much pleased with one of them; the others inclined greatly to bombast. The Volunteer corps of the town were called out, and fired a feu-de-joie, and the day terminated with a public dinner.

The birth-day of Washington, and the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, are the two great annual festivals of the United States. The latter however is the chief one; as on that 281 day in every town, village, or little community, one person is selected to read the Declaration of Independence, and to make a public speech; and the whole of the soldiery, militia, and independent companies assemble under arms and are inspected.

From Lexington I returned to Maysville; and as the river was scarcely navigable for steam-boats, on account of the loose ice that was floating down it, I determined to travel on horseback through the State of Ohio to Wheeling. Accordingly I crossed the river, and took the road to Chillicothe.

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Owing to the breaking up of the winter frost, the roads were now so soft and muddy, that even by dint of riding from sun rise to sun set, I could only proceed about 24 miles a day.

On the second day after leaving Maysville, I stopped at a very comfortable tavern kept by a Mr. Willis, a very old man, who had been a soldier in the revolutionary war. He was one of those individuals who threw the tea into the sea at Boston; and he assured me, that the commonly received historical account of those persons that committed that act being disguised as Indians, was not true. I sat up till very late, being much entertained with his anecdotes concerning that interesting period.

I may here remark, that the traveller, in crossing from Kentucky into Ohio, sees at once the marked difference between a slave and a free State; for though Ohio is by much the younger State, he will there find a far greater degree of comfort and cleanliness, in both the interior and the exterior of the houses and taverns. This arises from the habits of industry necessary in a new State, where that moral pest Slavery is not tolerated.

Before arriving at Chillicothe I passed a very large sugar camp, and dismounted in order to drink some of the pleasant and refreshing juice which was running in great quantities from the holes bored in the trees.

In Ohio, as well as in most of the middle and western States, the sugar-maple (*acer saccharinum*) is found in abundance, and supplies the inhabitants with the greatest part of their sugar.

When the frosts of winter begin to break up, and when in consequence the sap rises, a number of families from each village or town, provide themselves with large iron kettles, and encamp in the woods wherever these trees are numerous. These places are called Sugar Camps. To procure the sugar a hole is bored in each tree, with a half-inch auger, to the depth of an inch and a half, or two inches. Into this hole is thrust a small piece of split elder, which serves as a spout, and is generally about two feet and a half from the

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ground. For a few hours in the middle of the day, when the sun shines and warms the air, the juice runs in considerable quantities into the wooden troughs placed to receive it. These, when full, are emptied into kettles, where the limpid juice is boiled down. A 283 single tree will, during the season, often produce as much as eight pounds of sugar; and a family will generally collect as much as eight or nine hundred weight, and in a good year twenty hundred weight. I could not learn that the trees suffered materially from this loss of sap. When the season terminates, small wooden plugs are inserted into the holes that have been bored, and are taken out again on the following season, each hole being merely cleared out with the auger.

This tree merits the attention of our English economists. It is very hardy, growing well both in New York and Pennsylvania, and I am nearly sure would thrive in England. The sugar made from it, is, in my opinion, superior in flavour to that made from the cane, though undoubtedly inferior in strength.

The whole of this part of State of Ohio still felt the destructive effects, occasioned, the autumn before, by the host of squirrels that marched through the country. Every farmer lost a part of his crop of Indian corn, and many their whole. The consequence was, that their cattle, and particularly their hogs, suffered in such a remarkable degree, that I saw them starving to death even in the yards of the farmers.

Chillicothe, on the Sciota river, was a few years ago only an Indian village; but it is now a flourishing and rapidly increasing town, the second in the State of Ohio, and containing 3,400 inhabitants.

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Within a short distance of this place are some old Indian mounds, on a small stream called "Paint Creek." These, though much has been said and written about them, are merely the works of barbarians, and are utterly unworthy of attention.

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I have seen many such, on the Ohio river, near the Mississippi, and in Kentucky; and as regarded the rudeness of their structure, there appeared to me a great similarity in all of them.

It has been a favourite theory with some American literati, that their country was in olden time inhabited by a somewhat civilized people, who dwelt there before the present race of Indians. To prove this they refer you to these mounds; and it is truly ludicrous to see how easily the learned antiquaries convert them into forts, fortifications, &c. &c. &c.

I have seen some hundreds of specimens of flint axes, unglazed earthenware, &c. collected from these mounds, both in public Museums and in the collections of private individuals. Judging from similar articles brought by Captain Cook from Owhyhee and other of the South Sea islands, it appears to me, that the savage islanders must have been far advanced in civilization, beyond these imaginary predecessors of the American Aborigines.

It has been said, that many of these Indian mounds resemble, in their exterior, our European Barrows; which is only saying that one rude mound of earth resembles another. The Barrows however, on being opened, present us with very different contents,—weapons made of metal, stamped coin, precious rings, &c. &c., all of which indicate a certain knowledge of the Arts. But in these Indian mounds there has not even been found a brick, or anything else that might prove the existence of people, capable of building any habitation superior to a Wigwam.

But when once the true antiquarian spirit seizes the mind, a host of visions rise up and obscure reason. The following quotation will serve as an instance of this.

“Our authors mention that Dr. Drake, the highly respected naturalist of Cincinnati, had exhibited to them in his cabinet, two large marine shells, that had been dug out of ancient Indian tumuli in Ohio, one of which appears to be a *Cassis Cornutus*. All the authorities,

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except Linnæus, regard the cassis cornutus as an Asiatic shell; and Bruguiere, say our authors, has maintained that Linnæus was mistaken in referring it to America. The circumstance, that a shell of Asiatic origin has been found in an Indian tumulus in Ohio, would seem to establish an intercourse at least between the Indians of North America and those of Asia. Our authors justly adduce this discovery as a confirmation of the theory of the Asiatic origin of our native tribes; a theory which since the researches of M. de Humboldt has been very extensively adopted.”*

* North American Review for April, 1823; article, Major Long's Expedition.

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Now there can be no doubt, but that the Indian who possessed this Asiatic shell, (which, however, is said to be American by no less a personage than Linnæus), must have been a great Conchologist, and it is a pity that no other specimens from his cabinet have been discovered. The bones of the Hyæna and other Asiatic animals, found in the cave at Kirkdale in Yorkshire, prove no doubt that our savage English ancestors had “an intercourse at least” with Asia. For my own part I think the animals whose bones are found in the cave, must have belonged to a travelling menagerie, brought over by the Asiatics for the amusement of the Picts. I am astonished indeed that this idea has never struck Mr. Buckland, especially as it does not involve the consideration of that inconvenient miracle the Deluge of Noah.

Two learned Americans, whose names I forbear to mention, have contended that the American Indians are descended from the ten lost tribes of the Jews. They have given divers learned reasons in support of this theory, which, together with all that has been written about it, ought of a truth to be classed with the “unutterable ponderings of Wouter Van Twiller the Doubter,” first Dutch governor of New York.* The dissertation of our old friend the Antiquary on A. D. L. L. is a bagatelle compared to the lucubrations of these gentlemen.

* Vide Knickerbocker's New York.

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A nation may lose the knowledge of some of the fine arts, and of those contributing only to luxury; such as painting, the making glass or china, &c.—An Emigrant people cannot be supposed to carry with them all the improvements and refinements of their fathers; but the knowledge of the more simple arts, such as those of working the metals, making bricks, &c., they could certainly never forget. This alone is sufficient to convince me, that the ancestors of the American Indians did not come from Asia. But the Mosaic account of the early ages of the earth has been made the basis of all reasoning concerning the people of America, and consequently I am astonished any one should attempt explaining, what must therefore necessarily be miraculous.

Some have pretended that the ancestors of the Americans came across Behring's Strait, which lies very nearly within the Arctic circle. I would advise those who can talk so easily of such a journey to read the account of Captain Francklin's. But the captain's journey must have been nothing compared to that of the primæval emigrants; for he was provided with every thing that could alleviate hardship, and he set out from a very high latitude where there were already inhabitants. Indeed if he had not returned to these inhabited spots he would have been starved to death. Perhaps then the pretended emigrants to America never existed; or if they did, I am surprised that on seeing such a miserable 288 country they did not turn back; unless indeed their spirit of enterprise was greater than that of men in these degenerate days.

But why should we reason about Miracles? We know that the whole of animated Nature was destroyed at the Deluge, with the exception of those men, beasts, &c. preserved in the Ark. Therefore all animated nature must have been destroyed in America; and I presume few will maintain, that the emigrants who peopled that country, brought with them the progenitors of all the Couguars, Jaguars, Tapirs, Llamas, Rattlesnakes, &c., that at present abound in that quarter of the globe, but are found no where else. Yet otherwise

how did the said couguars, jaguars, &c., first get to America? They could hardly have swum across Behring's Strait. It is miraculous therefore how men first peopled the Western Hemisphere; it is miraculous how that continent was stocked with animals, tropical birds, and reptiles; and it is miraculous how the different tribes and nations should differ so totally in language and appearance. But let no one be astonished; for there are circumstances connected with the peopling the Old World nearly as miraculous. Climate will alter the complexion of the adult, but not change the colour of the rete mucosum. The negroes in Canada never become white, nor do the English in Africa ever have a black skin, woolly hair, thick lips, and flat noses. Adam was a red man.* His descendants are not only red, but white and black. Some have wool on their heads, and others hair; some have flat noses and thick lips, others thin lips and sharp noses. This again is miraculous.

* Vide Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, cap. 1.

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CHAPTER XVI. BACKWOODSMEN—ADVICE TO TRAVELLERS.

From Chillicothe I continued my route towards Wheeling, passing through Zanesville and several other flourishing little towns. As the road approaches the Ohio, the country around is heavily timbered; and though it becomes more hilly and even mountainous, yet it is nevertheless very fertile, and is rapidly coming into cultivation. Coal is here very abundant, and will in a short time be of great value to the State. This is a part of the great coal formation, that begins at Cumberland on the Potowmac, and terminates in the State of Ohio.

Several days of slow and tedious travelling brought me to Wheeling. As at this place I took leave of the Western States, I shall here give a short sketch of their inhabitants.

The first circumstance that struck me in these people was their extraordinary stature, which far exceeds that of all the other nations I have ever seen. I could not however hear of any particular cause for this, and must therefore only attribute it to abundance of food,

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and habits of great activity. The King of Prussia would easily have filled up his regiment of tall Grenadiers if he could have recruited among the Kentuckians, as almost every 291 man in the State would have been considered a good recruit. I am certain if Monsieur de Buffon could have seen them, he would have completely altered his opinion, that men degenerate in the New World.

It is indeed remarked, that the members sent to Congress from the Western States are of Patagonian stature, as compared to those of their fellow citizens, who dwell to the East of the Alleghanies.

Great part of Kentucky and Ohio are now becoming so thickly settled that most of the real Backwoodsmen, such as Old Leather Stocking,* finding themselves *crowded*, that is having cultivators of the earth within five or six miles of them, have moved off towards the frontier, and are now chiefly to be found in Indiana, Illinois and the Missouri.

* Vide, *The Pioneers*, an American novel.

The Backwoodsmen unite a great deal of hospitality to the most perfect independence, which occasionally indeed verges on rudeness. They are brave and hardy, appearing to delight in danger. This character is even preserved by many of their descendants, who, remaining in Kentucky and Ohio, have adopted a mode of life perfectly different from that of their forefathers. The mere circumstance that Lexington was illuminated, when war was proclaimed against Great Britain in 1812, may perhaps be considered a sufficient proof that much of the turbulent spirit of the old Backwoodsmen still animated their more polished offspring.

The following is the manner in which land is at present obtained from the Indians. The United States send proposals to the tribe Indians to whom the district belongs, and signify that they wish to purchase it. The tribe then holds a general council, and decides, whether they shall sell, how much they shall demand, and what portions of the district they shall reserve. After this is decided, they conclude a treaty with commissioners appointed by

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the United States, and receive the sums of money, and the blankets, guns, &c. for which they have stipulated. These are generally paid to the tribe annually, in order that their descendants may not suffer from the sale effected by their forefathers. Individuals cannot buy land of the Indians under any pretence whatsoever; but as soon as a district comes into the possession of the United States, it is surveyed and sold at the prices settled by Congress, and the money is paid into the public treasury. The price of Congress land is at present a dollar and a half per acre.

Before this fair and just method of obtaining land was adopted, it was the custom to drive off the Indians by force, which, as might be supposed, occasioned frequent wars, and, at times, a great deal of blood-shed. Colonel Boon, whose memory will long be venerated by the Backwoodsmen, who look upon him as one of the greatest heroes that ever lived, was the first white that effected a Settlement in Kentucky. In the year 1769, this daring hunter, accompanied by five companions, determined to pass the Alleghanies, that great chain of mountains, which has not improperly been termed the back-bone of the United States.

He accordingly ascended that part of the ridge that lies at the back of North Carolina, and, on arriving at the summit, was delighted at beholding the level and rich country stretched out beneath him. On descending into it, he was still more rejoiced at seeing the enormous size of the timber, and the great quantity of that noble vegetable the Cane, which proved the soil to be more fertile than that of North Carolina, his native State. He also observed a most astonishing number of buffaloes, elk, deer, bears, turkeys, and all kinds of game.

After a time he returned, bringing his wife and children with him; and the favourable accounts given of the country, soon induced many other persons to cross over into it, with a determination of settling there.

Now Kentucky, from the abundance of game which was found in it, had been reserved by the Indians as a hunting ground; and, though many different tribes had the right of hunting

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there, they all agreed in hindering any tribe from making it a fixed abode. This regulation was the cause of many disputes and wars among themselves, and the country was in consequence called "Kentucky," 294 a name signifying in the Indian language, "the Bloody Ground."

It may therefore easily be supposed how much they were irritated, when they saw their old enemies, the "Long Knives," (for so they call the Virginians and the whites in general), not only coming down to hunt in their favourite district, but without ceremony, and even without asking permission, settling, as if they had a right to the soil, building cabins, cutting down the trees, driving off the game, and in fact appropriating the country to themselves.

The Indians therefore immediately opposed the intruders with their utmost force; and had they then been as well armed as they are at present, it is doubtful whether Kentucky would yet have been settled. Even as it was, they were two or three times very nearly driving their enemies back again over the mountains. Nothing but the most astonishing fortitude, courage, and perseverance, enabled the whites to make a stand.

Now every one knows, that the wars carried on by the North American Indians are always wars of extermination; for it very rarely happens that the victorious party gives quarter, either to man, woman, or child.

The settlers therefore, in order to protect themselves, erected forts of logs, which they called "Stations," occupying themselves during the day in cultivating the ground immediately in the 295 neighbourhood, and at night retiring within the walls. But even during the day time, some of the settlers, armed with rifles, were posted in different places, to guard against surprise, while others were employed in the labours of agriculture.

In spite of every precaution, the Indians constantly surprised them, destroyed the crops of corn, burnt the stations, and cut off whole families at a time, killing and scalping every one who fell into their hands. But by degrees the Settlers became more expert at the Indian mode of warfare, and from being much better armed than their savage foe, gradually

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obtained the superiority. They then began to act on the offensive, forming parties, and pursuing the Indians, whom they killed and scalped in retaliation, till they had at last obtained entire possession of all the country on the left bank of the Ohio.

I will here quote an example of their constant state of danger and warfare, which though it contributed to raise a hardy and daring population, gave their manners a strong tint of ferocity.

“LETTER TO A GENTLEMAN OF PHILADELPHIA.*

* Vide “Indian Wars in the West,” page 82, published at Lexington, Kentucky.

“ Dear Sir, “Westmoreland, April 26, 1779.

“I wrote you a note a few days ago, in which I promised you the particulars of an affair between 296 a white man of this county, and two Indians; I now mean to relate the whole story; and it is as follows:—

“The white man is upwards of sixty years of age; his name is David Morgan, a kinsman to Colonel Morgan of the rifle battalion. This man had, through fear of the Indians, fled to a fort about twenty miles above the province line, and near the east side of the Monongahela River. From thence he sent some of his younger-children to his plantation, which was about a mile distant, there to do some business in the field. He afterwards thought fit to follow, and see how they fared. Getting to his field, and seating himself upon the fence, within view of his children, he espied two Indians making towards them; on which he called to his children to make their escape. The Indians immediately bent their course towards him. He made the best haste to escape away, that his age, and consequent infirmity, would permit; but soon found he would be overtaken, which made him think of defence. Being armed with a good rifle, he faced about, and found himself under the necessity of running four or five perches towards the Indians, in order to obtain shelter behind a tree of sufficient size.

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This unexpected manœuvre obliged the Indians, who were close by, to stop where they had but small timber to shelter behind, which gave Mr. Morgan an opportunity of shooting one of them 297 dead upon the spot. The other, taking advantage of Morgan's empty gun, advanced upon him, and put him to flight a second time, and being lighter of foot than the old man, soon came up within a few paces, when he fired at him, but fortunately missed him. On this Mr. Morgan faced about again to try his fortune, and clubbed his firelock. The Indian by this time, had got his tomahawk in order for a throw, at which they are very dexterous. Morgan made the blow and the Indian the throw, almost at the same instant, by which the little finger was cut off Morgan's left-hand, and the one next to it almost off, and his gun broke off by the lock. Now they came to close grips. Morgan put the Indian down; but soon found himself overturned, and the Indian upon him, feeling for his knife, and yelling most hideously, as their manner is when they look upon victory to be certain. However, a woman's apron, which the Indian had plundered out of a house in the neighbourhood, and tied on above his knife, was now in his way; and so hindered him from getting at it quickly, that Morgan got one of his fingers fast in his mouth, and deprived him of the use of that hand by holding it, and disconcerted him considerably by chewing it, all the while observing how he would come on with his knife. At length the Indian had got hold of his knife, but so far towards the blade, that Morgan got a small hold of the hinder end; and as the Indian pulled it out 298 of the scabbard, Morgan, giving his finger a severe screw with his teeth, twitched it out of his hand, cutting it most grievously. By this time they were both got partly on their feet, and the Indian was endeavouring to disengage himself; but Morgan held fast by the finger, and quickly applied the point of the knife to the side of its savage owner. A bone happening in the way prevented its penetrating any great depth; but a second blow directed more towards the belly, found free passage into his bowels. The old man turned the point upwards, made a large wound, burying the knife therein, and so took his departure instantly, to the fort, with the news of his adventure.

“On the report of Mr. Morgan, a party went out from the fort, and found the first Indian where he had fallen; the second they found, not yet dead, at 100 yards distance from the

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scene of action, hid in the top of a fallen tree, where he had picked the knife out of his body, after which had come out some parched corn, &c. and had bound up his wound with the apron aforementioned. On first sight he saluted them with, “ *How do do broder? how do do broder?* ” but alas poor savage, their brotherhood to him extended only to tomahawking, scalping, and (to gratify some peculiar feelings of their own) skinning them both; and they have made drum-heads of their skins.”

Many of the old hunters still retain a feeling of 299 savage hostility against their ancient foe. During the last war, when the great Indian Chief Tecumtha was killed, some of the Western Militia disfigured his dead body, and even went so far as to cut razor straps from his skin. I long disbelieved this story; but when in Kentucky, I met an officer who had commanded a party of Militia in the action, and he informed me that it was true, and that he himself had seen the disfigured body. At the same time he expressed his indignation at the circumstance; saying, that Tecumtha was really a brave and magnanimous warrior, as well as a most extraordinary man; and that the American officers would have most severely punished the perpetrators of the outrage offered to his body, if they could have been discovered.

A story never loses by travelling; and I have seen it asserted in an English publication, that the Kentuckians cut razor straps from the backs of even the *living* Indians. I need hardly state that this is false, as the most fierce of the old Backwoodsmen would shrink with horror at the very idea of such a crime. Surely every conscientious individual should hold up to universal detestation, the author of such calumnies; for they tend more than anything else to excite hostile feelings between two nations, who ought, if any ought, to be friends.

But the capability of misrepresentation is not limited to our side of the Atlantic; for “a Collection 300 of Official Naval and Military Letters” published in America, contains even greater calumnies concerning the English.

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In one of these letters, Brigadier General M'Clure asserts with boldness, and of course with veracity, that the inhabitants of Youngstown, Lewistown, &c. "were massacred, without distinction of age or sex, by a band of inhuman savages, led on by British officers *painted*." Some of our worthy captains and lieutenants must have been amusing figures, when stripped and coloured like Indians!

In the same collection, is a letter from General Harrison, in which, after describing an action that took place between the Americans and the British, he says, that his second in command, General Winchester, was taken prisoner; after which he was killed and his bowels torn out. He then comments upon the extreme barbarity of the British. The only objection I know to this statement of General Harrison's, which is quite probable and strictly true, is that General Winchester is at present alive and well, and when I was in the United States wrote at least a dozen tremendously long letters in the public journals, the object of which was, to throw the whole blame of the failure of the campaign in question, upon the aforesaid General Harrison. Now either poor General Winchester is a very extraordinary person and lives without bowels, or he must have afterwards had them put in again by some American surgeon; for I can hardly suppose that the cruel and inhuman British who took them out, would have been at the trouble of putting them in again.

I am certain, that a white prisoner would meet with as good treatment among the Backwoodsmen, as among any soldiery in the world. It is only towards the Indians that they feel this implacable hatred, which may be easily accounted for, from the circumstance, that almost every one of the old hunters has had parents, brothers, sisters, or other relations, killed and scalped by them in former wars. I have spoken to many with whom I have hunted, and I am certain they would feel no more compunction at shooting an Indian, than they would at shooting a deer or a bear, while they would look upon the killing a white man with as much horror as I should.

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The Backwoodsmen not only make excellent Militia, but are the very best light troops in the world. They can subsist upon a very small quantity of food, care nothing about sleeping out in the woods for weeks together, and are perfectly unequalled in the use of the rifle.

This is the only fire-arm used throughout all the Western States, and is generally from three and a half to four feet long in the barrel. It has one turn in four feet, weighs from twelve to fourteen pounds, has a very small and crooked stock, and carries a remarkably small bullet. The great 302 weight keeps the gun steady; and the charge is so small, that one might almost balance one of their rifles across a gate, and fire it without its falling, the recoil, if any, being imperceptible. The usual size of the balls for shooting squirrels and wild turkeys, is from 100 to 150 to the pound. For deer and bear, the size varies from 60 to 80, and for larger animals, as the buffalo and elk, from 50 to 60; though a rifle carrying a ball of a larger size than 60 to the pound, is very seldom made use of. For general use, and for shooting at a mark, the favourite size is from 60 to 80.

Every boy, as soon as he can lift a rifle, is constantly practising with it, and thus becomes an astonishingly expert marksman. Squirrel shooting is one of the favourite amusements of all the boys, and even of the men themselves. These animals are so numerous in the forests of the West, that it requires no labour or trouble to find them. Indeed they may be shot in the trees almost from the door of every man's house. It is reckoned very unsportsmanlike, to bring home a squirrel or a turkey, that has been shot any where, except in the head. I have known a boy put aside and hide a squirrel that had been struck in the body; and I have often seen a Backwoodsman send a ball through the head of one which was peeping from between a forked bough at the top of one of the highest trees, and which I myself could hardly distinguish.

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When I was in Kentucky, a hunter offered to fire twenty times at a dollar at the distance of 100 yards, upon the condition that I should give him a dollar every time he struck it, and

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that he should give me one every time he missed it; but I had seen such specimens of their rifle-shooting, that I did not choose to accept this offer. Indeed I was told by several people who were present, that he was a noted shot, and would have struck the dollar almost every time.

I recollect at another place, meeting a person who belonged to the mounted militia, that by a forced march had joined General Jackson for the relief of New Orleans. He told me, that the General had placed him and his companions immediately behind the breast-work, and desired them to reserve their fire, until they could make sure. It was by these men that the great slaughter was chiefly made; for a soldier had but a poor chance of escaping the ball of a marksman, who could strike a squirrel's head nine times out of ten at a hundred yards. I do not believe there is an authentic history, that gives an account of a single battle, in which so many were killed on one side and so few on the other.

The man above mentioned, who did not know that I was an Englishman, assured me that the British troops advanced so boldly and intrepidly, in the very teeth of the murderous fire which swept away numbers of them at every discharge; 304 that the Americans declared, they could not have believed such courage possible, if they had not seen it. "I quite *hated*," said he, "to fire upon such brave men, though obliged to do it in self-defence. This was also the feeling of many of my comrades. As it was, I pulled the trigger of my rifle twenty-seven times, and you, Sir, have seen enough of my shooting, to judge whether or no I should often miss."

One of the anecdotes told me will serve, better than any thing I can say myself, to show what excellent marksmen they are. Two of his comrades were disputing which of them had killed a British Officer, who had made himself conspicuous by his daring advance, and whom they had both fired at simultaneously. "He is mine," said one, "if he be shot in the forehead;" "and if I struck him," said the other, "he is shot in the middle of the breast." After the action they went to examine the body, and found that he had received both the balls in the places mentioned.

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The Western Militia are scarcely more formidable to an advancing army, from their skill in shooting, than from their dexterity in the use of the axe.

Every individual is brought up from his youth to the use of this tool, which is of a peculiar construction, and differs essentially from the European Broad Axe.

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To see the short space of time in which a Backwoodsman can cut down the largest tree, and the power he has of making it fall in whatever direction he pleases, astonishes a foreigner, who must labour for years in order to attain the same skill.

Now as the roads in a great part of the United States run through forests, a small party of Backwoodsmen, by felling trees on each side of the road, and causing them to fall in a slanting direction, with their tops towards the advancing foe, is enabled in a short time to form an almost impenetrable barrier. A whole host of pioneers could scarcely clear away this, even if they had plenty of time, and were not liable to be harassed by such accomplished "Bush-fighters."*

* This is a term made use of by the Americans, when in their battles with the Indians they are obliged to run from tree to tree, taking care as they advance, to cover themselves from the deadly aim of their enemies.

A custom much to be blamed among the better class in the Western States, is that of wearing concealed weapons. So common is it to carry a dirk hid in the breast, that a Student of the Transylvanian College, Lexington, informed me that it was the practice of many of his fellow collegians. Fatal accidents are thus often occasioned; as a man when angry, is enabled, by means of the weapon he carries, to commit an act of which he may repent all the rest of his life. All the country is X 306 however advancing in improvement and civilization, with such rapid steps, that this custom will, no doubt, very shortly disappear.

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It now only remains for me to say, upon the subject of the Western States, what is the best manner in which any one of my countrymen can travel here. I must of course premise, that I do not address myself to a person unprepared to submit to a little hardship and a few privations. If you are not prepared for this you should always keep on the Eastern side of the Alleghanies, and not attempt to travel further than Washington. If however you can make up your mind to a little fatigue, you will be amply repaid for your trouble, by visiting a curious and very interesting country.

Before leaving Washington, or upon arriving at the Ohio, you should provide yourself with a good horse, willingly adding twenty or thirty dollars to the ordinary price, in order to be well mounted. You should particularly recollect, to ascertain by actual experiment, whether the animal be a good swimmer, and will take the water readily. Besides a great coat, and a pair of saddle-bags to contain a few changes of linen, you should take with you two strong blankets of moderate size and sufficient thickness. One of these folded square can be put beneath the saddle, as a saddle-cloth; and the other being placed above the saddle, and fastened with a surcingle, will not be unpleasant to ride upon. You will often prefer sleeping upon the 307 floor, wrapped up in these blankets, to getting into the dirty bed that will be offered you, or sharing a clean bed with some stranger. You will also find them very useful if you sleep out in the woods, which will frequently be the case, if you proceed beyond the Mississippi, or amuse yourself much with hunting. In fine weather it is not unpleasant to sleep out, and sometimes preferable to remaining for the night in the dirty cabins of the settlers.

Your money should consist entirely in United States Bank notes, of ten or five dollars each. These you can always change for silver, of which you should carry ten or fifteen dollars with you at a time, in small coin, such as quarter dollars, and ten cent, pieces. By following this plan you will avoid the necessity of taking local notes and other money, which, from its limited currency, is often left upon one's hands without the possibility of changing it. You can fasten the purse, containing the greater part of the United States Bank notes, round

your body under your waistcoat, or in any other place where you cannot lose them, which would of course be a very inconvenient accident.

The best time for setting out on the journey is the spring. Even winter is preferable to autumn and to the latter end of summer, which are in general very unhealthy throughout all the Western Country, and which therefore you would do well to X 2 308 spend in the Northern States, or in Canada, or in any part of America that is mountainous.

If you are fond of wild hunting, you will be very much amused by going out with the Backwoodsmen. The best part of the country for hunting expeditions is in the neighbourhood of the great Lakes, where game of all kinds is very plentiful, and where you would at the same time have an opportunity of seeing a great deal of the native Indians, and if a naturalist, of collecting specimens for the illustration of Zoology.

I conclude my advice to the traveller by bidding him keep in mind, what some persons are too proud to recollect, that good temper, and a willingness to conform to the customs of the country, are particularly necessary in America.

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CHAPTER XVII. THE RETURN OF SPRING—HORSE-RACE AT LONG ISLAND—NEW YORK.

I took a last farewell of the Ohio at Wheeling, and retraced my steps towards Washington, along the great national road. As I was now on horseback, I had a much better opportunity of seeing the beauties of the scenery, than when I before went the same road in the stage. The day I crossed the Laurel mountain was remarkably fine, and the view from the summit delightful. Indeed after journeying through interminable forests, I felt my mind as it were expanded, at seeing the blue expanse resting on the earth, instead of being shut in by a constant barrier of gigantic trees.

After crossing the Alleghanies and proceeding towards the East, one cannot but remark how the timber decreases in size. I well recollect indeed the disappointment I experienced, when at my first arrival in America, I found the trees so much smaller than I had expected; for till I went into the Western States, I saw none larger than those which are to be met with in the generality of the parks of English gentlemen.

On arriving at Washington I parted with my horse, and that with no small regret; for he had carried me 1500 miles without being either sick or 310 lame a single day. The whole distance I travelled, from my leaving Washington, till I returned there, was 2,345 miles.

Unlike our European Spring, which advances with slow and measured steps, the most delightful of seasons comes on at once in this part of America, with scarcely any notice of its approach, Nature throwing off the whole of her winter garb in an instant. It is impossible for a person unacquainted with a land of forests, to form any idea of the wonderful beauty of this sudden change. The leaves, as if by magic, burst forth almost in a single night; and the woods, that lately presented a desolate appearance of uniform sombreness, are now decked with a thousand various tints of the most beautiful green.

The Locust and Tulip trees are very common in all the woods; and indeed in many places form a large part of them. They grow to a size unknown in Europe; and when, covered with flowers, they thrust their white heads from among the dark-green foliage that surrounds them, they form a picture never to be seen any where but in America. The Locust tree, in addition to the beauty of its flowers, fills the woods with the most delightful perfume. There are numberless other flower-bearing trees which contribute to the fine effect of vernal beauty; and I very much regret, that my ignorance or want of recollection prevents me from being able to name them.

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The birds, which had emigrated to the South at the commencement of winter, now re-appeared. But although in the splendour and variety of their colours they far exceed our

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birds, yet they are not only deficient in that variety of song remarked in our nightingale, lark, blackbird, and thrush, but even to the best of my knowledge, there are few of them capable of producing a single musical note.* I must however of course except the Mocking-bird (*turdus polyglottus*), that most charming of all songsters, which is very common near Washington, and in a great measure atones for the silence, or the discordant notes, of the rest of the feathered inhabitants of the woods. One of them will perch upon an old stump or the topmost branch of a tree, and imitate the notes of any of the birds that are within his hearing. Sometimes he will do this so exactly, that he appears to offend the other birds, who are silent as soon as he begins. I have often heard one imitate a gentleman, who used to amuse himself with whistling to them. When kept in a cage, a Mocking-bird will not only sing and whistle, but will squall like a cat, chuckle like a hen, and imitate any strange noise he has heard, changing from one cry to another in the most amusing manner imaginable.

* To speak in mathematical language, the song of birds varies inversely with their plumage. The observation has been made by all naturalists, and is nowhere more true than in America.

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Near the house of a gentleman with whom I stayed some time at Washington, was a very large Trumpet Honeysuckle, the constant resort of half a dozen Humming-birds. I was delighted to watch these beautiful pigmies of the feathered creation, as they kept hovering over a flower, and thrusting into it their long slender bills. The better to observe them, I fastened to the branches of the honeysuckle some quills full of sugar and water, which these little fairies, hovering over them for a minute or two at a time, drank up with every appearance of the greatest possible delight. The motion of their wings is so rapid, as to be almost invisible; and their bodies, which are scarcely larger than those of humble-bees, appear as if poised in the air by their mere lightness. Their plumage exceeds in beauty and brilliancy that of all other birds. Its colours are indeed quite metallic; and one would

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think that they were covered with the most brilliant red, blue, and green foil, such as the jewellers use for setting off precious stones.

There is also found near Washington another bird, of which I cannot resist the desire of giving some slight description. It is called the Whippoor-Will, from its peculiar and melancholy cry, which exactly resembles the sound of these words, It is, I believe, quite silent during the day time, when it is principally employed in the destruction of flies and mosquitoes. I have seen it wheeling through clouds of these insects in the neighbourhoods of marshes; and in my opinion it deserves to be held as sacred by the Americans, as the Storks by the Dutch, or the Ibis by the ancient Egyptians.

Towards the middle of May, when the weather had become of a delightful temperature, I accompanied a party of ladies and gentlemen, on a very pleasant excursion to the Great Falls of the Potowmac. The whole body of this large river falls seventy feet in the distance of about one hundred yards; and although only a small part falls perpendicularly, yet this rather adds to the effect, as the water rushes and leaps with great violence, from one ridge of rocks to another, throughout the whole distance.

The locks of a canal, which has been cut round these falls, for the purpose of allowing boats to ascend and descend the river, are exceedingly curious, some of them being of great depth, and all of them cut out of the solid rock. A geologist will observe from the remarkable perpendicular cliffs immediately below the falls, that the Potowmac has probably cut its way through the rocks, which must at one time have obstructed its passage.

At the latter end of the spring or beginning of summer, vast shoals of Shad and Herrings ascend this river. The shad, which is a large fish, weighing five or six pounds, is much esteemed. The herrings are, I think, inferior in delicacy to those of Europe, although undoubtedly superior in size. A great many people are at this time of the year employed in catching them; and immediately below the Navy Yard at Washington, I have seen several

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thousand taken at a single haul. They are bought in large quantities by the planters of Maryland and Virginia; and when salted, and eaten with a portion of ground Indian corn made into bread, form the chief, and indeed almost the only food of the Slaves. When the country becomes more populous, these fisheries will be of still greater importance, for the fish ascend the rivers into the very heart of the country. Even now the planters would find it difficult to feed their slaves, were the herrings to fail.

In the neighbourhood of Washington the woods are for the most part of oak. But wherever a field or farm has been first cleared and cultivated, and afterwards deserted, (as is common with individual fields), the whole is speedily covered with young cedars, though there are none of these trees in the neighbourhood. I have seen several spots of five or six acres that had thus become entirely covered with cedars, growing so closely and so regularly, that every one at first sight would suppose that they had been planted, these squares offering a very singular appearance, particularly during the winter, when their dark green foliage is strongly contrasted with the leafless state of the trees around them. I have asked several good botanists the cause of this phænomenon, 315 but none could ever explain it to me satisfactorily.

At the beginning of summer I left Washington, and passing for the second time through Baltimore and Philadelphia, arrived at New York. Very different indeed was the appearance of this great commercial city, from that which it presented when I arrived there from Europe. Instead of a spectacle of desolation, all the houses were re-occupied, and the streets swarmed with an active and numerous population.

What moreover occasioned the city's being unusually full, was the arrival of about 20,000 people, chiefly Virginians and Southerners, who had come to see a great horse-race, which was to be decided in the neighbourhood of the town. The southern planters, like the rich and idle in most parts of the world, are very fond of any thing that comes under the head of sporting, and have always been particularly celebrated for their love of cockfights and horse-races. In the free States, where, at the present time, large inheritances are

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uncommon, and where almost every one is engaged in some active profession, sporting is much less prevalent, and is held in no great estimation by the higher classes, who in this particular, as in others, appear to me to shew the superiority of their intellect.

Of late however, the New Yorkers have imported some fine horses, and Long Island has become famous for its breed of these noble animals. Now of the horses bred here one named "Eclipse" had occasioned a great deal of discussion. While the New Yorkers thought him the best horse in America, the Southerners rather underrated his merits. At last his proprietor put forth a challenge in the public papers, offering to run him against any horse that the Southerners could produce, for the sum of 5,000 dollars. The challenge was accepted; but the day the match was to have been decided, on the race course at Washington, the Southern horse went lame, so that the gentleman to whom he belonged lost his 5,000 dollars. The New Yorkers exulted in their success; but the Southerners still maintained that they could produce a horse that could beat Eclipse, and immediately accepted a second challenge, for double the former sum.

When therefore I was journeying to New York, all the steam-boats and carriages were crowded with Southerners, who were going to see this great contest ultimately decided on the race-course of Long Island. All of them were confident that the Southern horse would win, and assured me, that if I wanted to make a fortune, I had only to bet on him. It was really amusing to see the interest this race excited; indeed an election for a President would not have excited greater. In all the papers, and in every man's mouth, were the questions, "Are you for the North or the South?" "The Free or 317 the Slave States?" "The Whites or the Blacks?" It was indeed made quite a party question; all the Free States wishing success to Eclipse, and the Slave States to "Sir Henry." The day arrived, and Eclipse gained the first heat. After a very well contested race "Sir Henry" gained the second. Expectation had been wound up to the highest pitch, when after another severe heat, in which the four miles were run over in little more than seven minutes and a half, a

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degree of speed that would have done credit to Newmarket, the match was at last decided in favour of Eclipse.

Nothing could exceed the exultation of the New Yorkers, or the depression of the Southerners; for the vanquished party, besides losing their fame for having the best horse, lost individually large sums of money. The mail, that went through the western part of the State of New York, carried a red flag, on which was inscribed, "Eclipse for ever.—Old Virginia a little tired;" and all the people, as it passed through the different little villages and towns, turned out and huzzaed, such an interest did they take in what seemed to be an omen of political superiority.

The city of New York is the great commercial capital of the United States. It is situated at the head of one of the most noble bays, and probably of the very finest harbour, in the world; and vessels of the largest size can run along-side, and discharge 318 their cargoes on the spacious quays surrounding two sides of the city. From hence that magnificent river the Hudson is navigable for large sloops and other vessels, as high up as Albany, a distance of 150 miles. The inhabitants of the whole State are enterprising and industrious, and lose no opportunity of improving by every means in their power, the natural advantages enjoyed by their city. They have cut a large canal joining Lake Champlain and the Hudson, thus connecting that river with the St. Lawrence; and have also cut a yet greater canal from Albany on the Hudson to Lake Erie; a work that the oldest established European empire would be proud of, and which of its kind is perfectly unrivalled in any part of the world.

New York contains some fine buildings. Among these the City Hall is conspicuous, and is really a noble edifice. There is a very good Museum filled with objects extremely valuable to the zoologist, which are in fine preservation, and are kept very neat and clean.

The chief promenade in New York is a very spacious and long street called Broadway, that runs through the middle of the town. One end of this terminates at the point of the island

on which the city is built, near a spot called "The Battery," from an old fort built there, and which is at present entirely useless. From hence to Fort Clinton, another useless old castle built in defiance of all the rules 319 of fortification, is a very pretty little public walk, through an acre or two of ground containing some large trees. It is very agreeable during the hot months, because, from its running along the water's edge, it receives the sea-breeze of the evening.

But what must particularly be remarked with regard to New York is, that it contains one of the largest naval depots in the United States. I may here therefore without impropriety offer a few remarks, concerning the maritime power of the Republic.

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CHAPTER XVIII. THE NAVY.

Before the last war with Great Britain, the United States may be said to have had no navy. Although from the vast extent of sea-coast belonging to this commercial Republic, a maritime force seemed necessary to protect their trade, yet was the plan of having a navy exceedingly unpopular; for the people were very unwilling to incur the necessary expense, despairing of ever being able to cope with Great Britain.

Hence, when President Jefferson advised his fellow-citizens, to content themselves with building a sufficient number of gun-boats, to defend their rivers and harbours, this advice was put into execution, and was even carried so far that a frigate was sold as useless. But after they had captured a few British men-of-war, the Americans, in allusion to the gun-boats, which were for the most part drawn up ashore, derided the advice of President Jefferson, by calling it "the Terrapin System."^{*}

* The Terrapin is a small tortoise, very common throughout the United States, which climbs out of the water upon rocks or logs of wood to sun itself, but plunges hastily into the water when alarmed.

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When Commodore Hull brought the *Guerriere* into Boston, the people could hardly believe their senses, having previously imagined that a British frigate could easily take a seventy-four of any other nation. Every thing that could be thought of was done to confer honour on the first American officer who had taken a British frigate; he was thanked by Congress, he was presented with a superb sword by the inhabitants of Boston, and he was every where overwhelmed with congratulations and praises. The charm of English invincibility was broken, and a new spirit was infused into the sailors, and indeed into every class of the citizens. Several other successes increased their hopes: and the navy, from being looked upon with dislike, has become the darling of the nation, who are willing to pay any sums of money for its support and increase.

There are several reasons to be assigned for the maritime victories of the Americans. Their sea-officers knew that their very existence as a corps, depended on their exertions, and that unless they gained some successes, the navy would become very unpopular, and would perhaps be even entirely given up. Hence it is probable, that no vessels of war ever floated on the ocean, in which greater pains were taken in instructing and exercising the men, or in which a more exact and rigid discipline was enforced. The sailors were all volunteers, a circumstance upon which too much stress cannot be laid, as they must surely have felt more zeal and ardour, than men dragged from their home by violence, and forced to fight the battles of a country which oppressed them. Moreover the American vessels were in every case of superior force to those of the British which they captured; but the difference was not very great, certainly not more than the British had been accustomed to disregard whenever they attacked the French. Besides this, the crews of our frigates were for the most part defective.

At the conclusion of the war with England, the American navy consisted of only a few frigates. An idea of its present force may be formed from the following statement:—

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Extract from "The Documents accompanying the Message of the President of the United States to both Houses, at the Commencement of the Second Session of the Seventeenth Congress, December 3, 1822."

No. II. " *List of Vessels of the United States' Navy, now in Service.*

IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

Ship, Franklin 74 guns.

Schooner, Dolphin 12

IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

Frigate, Constitution 44

Sloop of war, Ontario 18

Schooner, Nonsuch 12

ON THE COAST OF AFRICA.

Coryette, Cyane 24

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IN THE WEST INDIES.

Frigate, Congress 36 guns.

Corvette, John Adams 24

Sloop of war, Peacock 18

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Brig, Spark 12

Schooner, Alligator 12

—, Grampus 12

—, Shark 12

—, Porpoise 12

Gun-boat, No. 158. 1

Sloop of war, Hornet, 18 guns, preparing for a cruize in the West Indies, at Norfolk, Virginia.

Brig, Enterprize, repairing at New York, for a cruize in the West Indies.

No. III. “ *List of Vessels of the United States' Navy, in Ordinary, exclusive of Ships on the List of the Navy Commissioners, exclusive of List No. IV.* ”

Ship, Independence 74 guns.

— Washington 74

Frigate, United States 44

— Guerriere 44

— Java 44

— Constellation 36

— Macedonian 36

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Steam frigate, Fulton 30

Sloop of war, Erie 18

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No. IV. “ *Vessels built and building under the Law for the gradual Increase of the Navy*: —

Columbus 74.—Launched in ordinary at Boston, with a roof over her to protect her from the sun, rain, &c.

Ohio 74.—Launched in ordinary at New York, with a roof over her to protect her from the sun, rain, &c.

North Carolina 74, and Delaware 74.—Launched in ordinary at Norfolk, and now covering with roofs to protect them.

A 74.—At Boston, nearly finished; house over her and perfectly protected.

A 74.—At Boston; frame raised; under a house, perfectly protected.

A 74.—At Portsmouth, N. H. nearly finished; under a house perfectly protected.

A 74.—At Norfolk, Virginia, about half finished; house, over her; perfectly protected.

A 74.—At Philadelphia; keel laid; frame nearly out; house now building over her, and probably raised by this time.

Potowmac 44.—Launched and hauled up on an inclined plane at Washington, where she now lies under a house, perfectly protected from sun, rain, &c.

A 44.—At Washington about half finished.

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A 44.—At Philadelphia, nearly finished, house over her, perfectly protected.

A 44.—At New York; frame getting out and nearly ready to raise.

A 44.—At Portsmouth, N. H. in forwardness; house over her; perfectly protected.

The frames of the other frigates authorized to be built, excepting a few pieces yet to be delivered by the contractors, and nearly all the other materials, excepting the iron, are procured and placed in situations where they will probably not sustain any immediate material injury.

Two steam-battery frames are securely deposited under cover at Washington Navy Yard.

One steam-battery frame is securely deposited under cover at New York.

Two engines are put up, and in a state of preservation at New York.

The building yards are in as good a state as the means placed at the disposal of the Department would allow; but to erect the necessary warehouses, repair wharfs, cover some of the vessels now building, and to erect suitable sheds over the timber, for its preservation, there will be required in the year 1823 the sum of 150,000 dollars."

The timber of which the Americans build their ships of war, is the Live Oak, (*quercus virens*,) a tree delighting in low sandy soils near the sea 326 coast, and growing in great plenty in South Carolina, and still more abundantly in Florida, from which States it is brought to the different navy yards. It is probably one of the most indestructible woods in the world. A gentleman told me, that when he was at Pensacola in Florida, he saw many of these trees still sound, although the Spaniards when they first landed had girdled them, not being able to cut them down. I believe that there are no instances of this wood's decaying, or of its being subject to the dry rot, after being worked up. It is so hard as to require tools of peculiar temper to cut it, and takes a great deal of labour and time before

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it can be shaped. It is exceedingly heavy, so much so that it will not float. Indeed I have several times, when visiting the different navy yards, thrown pieces of it into the water by way of experiment, and it has always sunk. The planking and wood work in the interior of the ships is of Locust and Cedar. As the Americans are not obliged to stint themselves in materials, nothing can exceed the beauty and strength of the timbers.

The following is a communication from Commodore Porter to the Editor of the American Farmer, (a periodical publication,) upon the subject of the comparative expense of building ships in the navies of France, and in that of the United States.

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"Meridian Hill, Washington, Sept. 3, 1821.

"The appropriation made for the gradual increase of our navy for eight years, was 8,000,000 of dollars, and it was required that for this sum nine ships of the line and twelve frigates should be built, and the imperishable materials for three steam batteries should be procured.

"From present prospects there cannot be a doubt, that had the appropriation continued, the whole would have been completed, within the time limited, and for the sum appropriated. But it will be recollected, that at the last Session of Congress, the amount was reduced from a million to half a million per annum; and the time extended in proportion to the reduction of the appropriation. The report of the commissioners however shows, that the amount originally appropriated was sufficient for the object to be effected.

"The French navy will, in ten years, according to the statement of the Minister of the Marine, equal thirty-eight ships of the line and forty-nine frigates (it is now equal to fifty-one* ships of the line and thirty-six frigates) and the expense at 13,000,000 of dollars per annum will be 130,000,000.

* There appears to be some mistake in the numbers here.

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“Our navy in eight years can be augmented 328 nine ships of the line and twelve frigates, and the materials for three steam-batteries procured, in addition to the old ships, at an expense of 8,000,000 of dollars; and at this rate of increase, with the amount appropriated by France (130,000,000) its augmentation would be one hundred and forty-four ships of the line, one hundred and ninety-two frigates, and the materials for forty-eight steam-batteries. This estimate you will observe is for the gradual increase alone, and embraces only the million appropriated for that object.

“For the current expenses of the navy, including repairs, the annual appropriation is less than 2,000,000. This moreover shows the immense advantage we have over all other nations, and proves incontestably, that with less money, in the course of ten or fourteen years, possessing as we do the means of preserving our ships, we may render ourselves superior to any naval power on the Globe.

“The large amounts applied by the British and French to their respective navies, is wasted in the repairs of their rotten and badly constructed ships, which leaves little to go towards augmenting their respective navies; while nearly all of ours is expended in the construction of ships of the most durable nature, and of the most approved dimensions and properties.

“Our ships require but little repairs; 400,000 dollars, in the present state of our navy, is more 329 than sufficient for that object, and the preservation of new ships.

“That nation, which possesses the secret of preserving its ships from destruction, as long as we have preserved the Constitution, United States, Constellation, &c., must have an immense advantage over those nations, which have to renew them every ten or twelve years, after an expenditure of heavy sums in their repairs.”

The Americans have made some great improvements in naval architecture, and they are the first to avail themselves of the improvements introduced by other nations. They are building their ships of war with round sterns; and the sailing of their seventy-fours is very

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much improved, by their being constructed without poops. In nothing perhaps are they more particular, than in practising their men in firing. It is not merely the first and second captains of guns who are practised in this art, but every individual sailor.

They have an admirable contrivance for pointing their cannon accurately. A small pyramidal piece of iron, projects from the upper part of every gun, directly between the trunnions. There is also a slight projection, close to the vent, or touch-hole. A bar of composition metal or brass, is fixed between these two projections, by means of screws running through them. The under side of the 330 bar fits to the barrel, and the upper is made parallel with the true direction of the interior. Along the top is cut a small groove about half an inch wide. Hence, a sailor, looking along the groove, can without any trouble take a most accurate aim. I have seen a wooden sight of the same kind, attached to a field piece, but reaching from the vent to the muzzle ring.

The locks of the ship guns are well made, and on a very good principle. There is a magazine in each lock; and for sixty successive times the mere action of shutting the pan primes the cannon. It is probable however, that the flint locks will very soon be entirely disused; as while I was at New York, some experiments were going on, to ascertain the practicability of applying percussion locks both to ship-guns and field-pieces.

The repeating swivels before described, are intended to be fixed in the tops of the ships, and when vessels are close together, would do tremendous execution.

The frigates carry long thirty-two pounders on their gun, and forty-two pound carronades, on their spar-deck. The seventy-fours carry long thirty-two-pounders on their lower decks, medium thirty-two-pounders on their second decks, and forty-two pound carronades on their spar-decks.

I was informed that a strong rope netting was to be nailed round the whole inside planking of each ship, above the water line; and that a nail, of the 331 sort that will not draw, was to

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be driven through the knot of each mesh. By this admirable contrivance the damage done by splinters will, in a great measure, be prevented.

Robert Fulton, though not the original inventor of the plan for the application of steam to the impelling of boats, was the first who successfully employed it for that purpose. America is justly proud of him, and fully sensible of the immense benefits he has conferred upon his country.

He has gained additional celebrity by contriving the Steam Frigate that bears his name; an invention that will almost prevent the possibility of blockading a harbour, and which, in this respect, will make a great change in naval warfare. Through the kindness of a gentleman of New York, I obtained permission to go on board this vessel, and a more curious one I certainly never saw. It is of a large size, and has an exceedingly ugly and clumsy appearance. Indeed, it ought to be called a steam-battery rather than a steam-frigate, which former name is to be given to those, which are at present building in the different ports.

There are two keels, each 156 feet long, but the division between them is not externally visible, as both ends of the vessel, being planked round, somewhat resemble the round stern of one of our new ships of war. The wheel that works the vessel, is between these two keels, and is thus completely protected from shot. A ball might 332 indeed by chance enter the small space which is unavoidably left open at both ends, immediately above the water, for the purpose of enabling the wheel to work; but even if a ball did enter, it would, in all probability only break one or two of the paddles.

The vessel has two very well protected rudders, one at each end, so that it can be worked with either end foremost. She is built entirely of live oak; and as all the part above water, is of solid timber five feet thick, a ball fired at her, from a long 32-pounder at a quarter of a mile distant, was found not to penetrate her side. She carries thirty great guns on her gun-deck, but none on her spar deck; so that the men need not expose themselves. There are

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two bowsprits, and two jury-masts, to which latteen sails may be rigged, though it is not probable they will ever be wanted. She moves at the rate of five knots an hour, when the water is tolerably smooth; but in rough weather she would become unmanageable, as the high sea would choke up the space between the keels, and thus prevent the wheel from working.

All that has been said about the quantities of boiling water to be thrown upon the decks of a hostile vessel, of the cutlasses moved by steam to prevent boarding, &c. &c. is totally devoid of truth. It is however true, that in three different parts of the spar-deck there are pipes like those of a fire-engine, which a man can direct against any boarders, 333 whether from a hostile vessel or from a boat; and as these pipes throw out many tons of cold water in a minute, with great force, the decks of any ship would soon be flooded, and a boat immediately sunk. It would be useless to attempt boarding her; for even if an enemy were to get over the lofty and strong bulwarks and obtain possession of her spar-deck, the small number of men that would be there, could retire below, and shut the hatches; and all the working of the vessel, of the guns, &c. would be carried on as before.

Should a fleet attempt to blockade the port at which she is to be stationed, she will wait for one of those dead calms so common on the American coast, and then manœuvre as circumstances may suggest, and commence firing red hot shot, which are supplied from furnaces in the interior. I should imagine that on such an occasion, she would, even when alone, be a match for any two or three ships; and if in company with three or four other steam-batteries, would speedily capture a whole fleet.

The Fulton has been several times tried on short excursions on the Atlantic, and is found to work well. She was begun during the last war, but was not finished until a short time after its close. I heard several naval officers express their regret, that she could not have been tried upon the British blockading squadron. The great objection to her at present, is the heat which the men must endure who attend the furnaces, but which is to be obviated 334 in the new steam-batteries. In these also several other improvements are to be made,

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such as that of increasing the celerity of the vessels by having the wheels on the outside, as in a common steam-boat, but protected by an immensely thick casing of live oak. I am told moreover, that two small mortars, or carronades carrying 100 pound shot, are to be placed on the spar-decks; and that in the event of another war with England, these vessels will be used on the great Lakes.

The Americans rate their ships in a most unfair manner. They Say they copied it from the British; though I much doubt whether we ever extended such a dishonourable practice to so great a length; and I believe that, now every British ship of war, is rated according to the number of guns she really carries. When at Boston, I saw two of the new *seventy-fours*, as they are called. The smallest of these, which was quite finished, is a three-decker, of 180 feet keel, and is pierced for 118 guns. The other, which was not quite finished, is larger, having 186 feet of keel.

At New York I went on board "the Ohio," 74; which, without counting stern or bow chasers, is pierced for 120 guns. The 74 building at Philadelphia, will be the largest in the American navy, and will probably carry 130 guns. The frigate Potowmac, called a 44, which I went on board when I was at Washington, carries 32 guns, or carronades, on her spar-deck, and 30 long guns 335 on her gun-deck, without counting two bow, and three stern chasers on both the decks. In the same dock-yard, there Was another 44 on the stocks, with a round stern, carrying the same number of guns. If a cannon were mounted at every port, each of these *forty-fours* would carry 72 guns; but, without counting bow and stern chasers, they would carry 62. I belieVe our frigates never carry guns in the gangways, as these do. But indeed as the American vessels have two complete decks of guns, they may to all intents and purposes, be called line-of-battle ships.

To under-rate ships in this manner is a meanness quite unworthy the American nation. If a 120-gun ship be considered as a 74, or a 62-gun frigate as a 44, there is no reason why, according to this new system of arithmetic, they should not call a sloop of war a gun boat and a battery of 20 guns a martello tower.

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The discipline in the American ships of war is fully as severe as in ours. The Congress indeed has passed an act to abolish corporal punishment; but I was told by many officers of rank in the navy of the United States, that if this act had been enforced, they, in common with most of their brother officers, would have resigned their commissions; as discipline on board a ship could not be otherwise maintained. It does not however appear that punishment is inflicted arbitrarily or undeservedly.

When the pay is equal, American seamen prefer a birth on board a man of war, to one on board a merchantman. Now I can venture to assert, from my own experience, that the watermen on the Thames, who are mostly seamen, and the sailors of Liverpool, of Bristol, or of any other of our commercial towns, would not shew such a preference with regard to the navy of Great Britain. Whence does this arise? Partly, I believe, from the arbitrary manner in which our sailors are too often treated, but chiefly, from the horror with which all seafaring men look upon our system of Impressment. There is not a fisherman, not a common seaman, in the whole British dominions, but feels himself aggrieved by the continuance of this wicked system. I know Judge Foster maintained that "Impressment cannot be complained of otherwise than as a Private Mischief, which must be submitted to, for avoiding a public inconvenience." But the reader will excuse my quoting what Dr. Franklin says in his remarks upon the Judge's argument.*

* Vide the Posthumous and other Writings of B. Franklin, 2 vols. London, 1819. Vol. ii. p. 109.

"I do not see the propriety of this *must*. The private mischief is the loss of liberty and hazard of life, with only half wages, to a great number of honest men. The public inconvenience is merely a higher rate of seamen's wages. He who thinks that such private injustice *must* be done, to avoid public inconvenience, may understand *law*, but seems imperfect in his knowledge of *equity*. Let us apply this author's doctrine to his own case. It is for the public service that courts should be held, and judges appointed to administer the laws. The judges should be bred to the law and skilled in it, but their great

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salaries are a *public inconvenience*. To remove the inconvenience, let press-warrants issue to arrest and apprehend the best lawyers, and compel them to serve as judges for half the money they would have made at the bar. Then tell them, that though this be, to them, a private mischief, it must be submitted to, for avoiding a *public inconvenience*. Would the learned Judge approve such use of his doctrine?"

Dr. Franklin afterwards says: "' *Modern practice* ,' supported by ancient ' *precedents* ,' weighs little with me. Both the one and the other only shew, that the constitution is yet imperfect, since in so general a case, it doth not *secure* liberty, but, *destroys* it; and the Parliaments are unjust, conniving at the oppression of the poor, where the rich are to be gainers or savers by such oppression."

It must indeed appear wonderful, that in the present enlightened age, and in a self-styled free nation, such tyranny should be endured. Adam Smith has well said, that "the property which every man has in his own labour, as it is the original foundation of all other property, so it is the Z 338 most sacred and inviolable. The patrimony of a poor man lies in the strength and dexterity of his hands; and to hinder him from employing this strength and dexterity in the manner he thinks proper, without injury to his neighbour, is a plain violation of his most sacred rights."

The French oblige every fishing-boat that goes to sea, to take a proportionate number of men on board, and compel all these men to register their names. This serves as a sort of nursery for seamen; and the government can at any time call upon them, when they want sailors. This plan, though sufficiently oppressive and tyrannical, is at any rate better than the indiscriminate impressment allowed by the British.

I have heard several officers of the United States' navy give it as their opinion, that in the event of their having a much larger number of ships than at present, there would be some difficulty in finding sailors to man them. The government has accordingly in contemplation to create a sort of naval militia, in which every seaman will be obliged to enrol himself,

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and which, in the event of any sudden emergency, will be required to furnish a certain number of men. To render such a regulation as little oppressive as possible, it is proposed to organize a corps, in which every seaman who enrolls himself will be entitled to a certain pension or certain privileges during his life, in consideration of 339 which he may, in case of need, be obliged to serve in the national fleet, before the naval militia is called upon.

Something of the sort will probably be done, for the government will find it very difficult to compete with the merchants; and the people of the United States are too equitable and too high spirited ever to submit to that system of impressment which prevails in England.

Another circumstance that makes the Navy of the United States a favourite with the seamen, is, that sailors are only enlisted for two years. They may indeed be detained three, if the good of the service require it, but after this time they have a right to go where they please. In the British Navy, the difficulty of getting seamen is greatly owing, to their being obliged to enlist for an unlimited period. A sailor will often not object to a service that may last three years; but will not, without force, enlist, for life.

While on service, greater liberty of going on shore is granted to the American seamen, than to the British.

Sailors, like all other men, get tired of being kept on board a ship, and picture to themselves the pleasure of being on shore in much too vivid colours; but let them once go, and when they have spent any little money they may have, they are glad to return again to the ship, as to a home. Z 2 340 But if a sailor have a little money and be prevented from going ashore, it is ten to one but he will desert. This the captains of Merchant vessels find so true, that as soon as they enter a port they give leave to as many hands as they can possibly spare to quit the ship, knowing that they will return as soon as the novelty is over, and especially as soon as their money is spent; for without money, a sailor on shore finds himself very much out of his element.

From being well aware of this feeling in seamen, the officers of the United States Navy, when the ship is lying near the land, always give permission to as many seamen to leave the ship as can be spared. The men take it in turn; and many who, have nothing to spend, will, if in a strange country, rather remain on board, after the first time.

At all the sea-port towns, there are a great many small taverns frequented by sailors, and kept by persons who are therefore called "Sailor Landlords." When a seaman enlists in the navy he receives three months' pay in advance, upon one of these sailor-landlords becoming security for his appearance. The money is of course spent in a few days, after which the landlord says: "Come Jack! you have nothing to spend now, I wont trust you, therefore you must go aboard." Accordingly 341 he takes him to the ship or tender, and the security is cancelled.

The Secretary of the Navy is a member of the cabinet, and holds his office at the will of the President with a salary of 6000 dollars, per annum. The Board of Commissioners for the Navy was established by act of Congress Feb. 7, 1815. It consists of three naval Captains in rank not below that of a post Captain.* The Board is by law attached to the office of the Secretary of the Navy, and under his superintendence discharges all the duties of that office relative to the equipment of vessels, &c. The Commissioners appoint their own secretary, and their records are at all times subject to the inspection of the President of the United States, and the Secretary of the Navy. The salary of each Commissioners is 3,500 dollars per annum.

* Up to the present time there has been no officer in the United States' Navy of higher rank than Post Captain. When commanding a squadron, the senior Captain has the rank and title of Commodore. It is intended however to make a few Admirals, and they will then form the Board of Commissioners.

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Pay and Subsistence allowed in the Navy of the United States to Officers and Petty Officers.

Dollars per Month. Number of rations per day. Captain of a vessel of 32 Guns and upwards 100 8 Captain of a vessel of 20 and under 32 Guns 75 6 Master Commandant 60 5 Lieutenant Commanding 50 4 Lieutenant 40 3 Chaplain 40 2 Surgeon 50 2 Surgeon's Mate 30 2 Sailing Master 40 2 Purser 40 2 Schoolmaster 25 2 Boatswain 20 2 Gunner 20 2 Sail Maker 20 2 Carpenter 20 2 Midshipman 19 1 Master's Mate 20 1 Captain's Clerk 25 1 Boatswain's Mate 19 1 Cockswain 18 1 Quarter Gunner 18 1 Quarter Master 18 1 Master at Arms 18 1 Armourer 18 1 Steward 18 1 Cooper 18 1 Cook 18 1 343

“Whenever any officer shall be employed in the command of a squadron, on separate service, the allowance of rations shall be double, during the continuance of such command, and no longer; except in the case of the commanding officer of the Navy, whose allowance, while on service, shall always be at the rate of sixteen rations per day, agreeably to an act of Congress, passed 25th February, 1799.”*

* National Calender.

Able seamen receive twelve dollars per month, ordinary seamen ten, and landsmen and boys eight.

“Pay of the Officers of the United States' Marine Corps.

Ranks or Station. Dollars per Months. No. of rations per Day. Lieutenant Colonel Commandant 75 6 Captain 40 3 First Lieutenant 30 3 Second Lieutenant 25 2

“The commandant of Marines receives, in addition to his pay, eight dollars per month, for forage of three horses. The Adjutant, Quarter-master, and Paymaster, thirty dollars per month extra.”†

† Ibid.

When the officers of the Navy are not employed, they can, by applying to the secretary of the Navy, obtain leave to take the command of Merchant Vessels or to serve on board

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them. Many unemployed 344 officers avail themselves of this excellent regulation, and by making long voyages to India, China, or round Cape Horn, improve themselves extremely in seamanship and navigation, and at the same time amass a little money for themselves and families.

Promotion is managed with the greatest justice and impartiality; for no officer can pass over the heads of his seniors, unless he has rendered some very important service to the nation, or has captured a vessel of superior force to his own.

“Once a year, a board of officers, for the examination of Midshipmen requesting promotion, is instituted. This rule was introduced in the regulations of the Navy, at the suggestion of the Navy Commissioners. The officers constituting the board are selected by the Secretary of the Navy. It consists of three Captains, aided by a Mathematician. Public notice of the place and time of sitting of the board is given, and all Midshipmen deeming themselves qualified for examination are requested to attend for that purpose. The examination is very rigid, and is conducted with so severe a scrutiny into the acquirements of the applicants, that it is presumed all passed by the board, are, from a full knowledge of the duties of their profession, qualified to take command of a ship.”* After passing this examination, they

* National Calendar.

345 are promoted by seniority, as vacancies may occur.

If we admire this system, what shall we say of our own? Every officer of the British Navy with whom I have had the honour of conversing upon this subject, has acknowledged, that in our service, promotion entirely depends, not on merit, but on interest. If a man have no interest, he may, though an excellent officer and navigator, remain a Midshipman or Lieutenant all his life; and must submit to those keen and galling feelings of disappointment and vexation, which naturally arise at seeing one's juniors and inferiors promoted over one. If it were not that the generality of our meritorious but neglected officers are men without any private fortune, and possessing nothing but their swords, they

would no doubt throw up their commissions in disgust, and leave a service, where court favour mocks at humble merit. Every well wisher to his country must regret, that a system is not altered, which, if continued, will ultimately ruin the high character of our Navy. When two hostile ships are bearing down upon one another, the palm of victory, is not for the smile or the bow of the courtier, but for the science and the courage of the man.

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CHAPTER XIX. COMMERCE.

In contemplating the United States, it must strike every one as very extraordinary, that they should have become, in so short a time, the second of commercial nations, with a reasonable prospect of soon becoming the first. What has caused this wonderful prosperity? The answer is short—free institutions, and free trade.

There are no excise officers in the United States. An American farmer would not, were any one to tell him, believe that there is a country, where a man can neither make his superfluous barley into malt, nor grow a little tobacco for his own private use, although he might raise it as easily as cabbage—where he cannot drive a cart on springs, without paying extra tax for it—where &c. &c. &c. for enumeration is impossible.

This unshackled state of domestic industry gives an astonishing impulse to internal, and consequently to external commerce. No sooner has an American made a certain quantity of candles, spirits, leather, or &c. than he loads a boat with it, and sends it down the great rivers to some large commercial town, where he sells it, or exchanges it for any article of foreign produce.

The advantages of free trade are at present so 347 universally acknowledged, that it is unnecessary here to expatiate upon them. It may not however be amiss to observe, that no government, except that of the United States, has acted up to this knowledge. The Americans have no monopolies; and they impose none of those overwhelming duties, which impede commerce, diminish the revenue, and serve as a premium to smugglers. In

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what country, except the United States, can a man trade in any sized vessel to any part of the world whatsoever?

There is nothing perhaps, in which the people of the United States so immeasurably excel all others, as in the construction of their merchant vessels.

The plan of building their larger merchant ships, long and sharp, and in that respect like fighting vessels, has been introduced for some time, and has answered beyond expectation. Hence the carrying trade from Liverpool to New York has been completely taken out of the hands of the English. Even the manufacturers of Glasgow, as I have been informed by a respectable merchant of that place, find it answers better to send their goods to Liverpool, to be shipped from thence in American vessels, than to send them direct from Glasgow to America, in English vessels. The Americans may indeed triumphantly ask: "Who sails, or who sends goods in an English merchant ship, when he can sail, or can send them in an 348 American?" The reason will be evident to any one who will walk through the docks at Liverpool. He will see the American ships, long, sharp built, beautifully painted and rigged, and remarkable for their fine clean appearance and white canvas. He will see the English vessels, short, round, and dirty, resembling great black tubs. The contrast will be immediately remarked, even by those who have never been on board a ship; and in the cabins the contrast is even more striking. There is in fact just about the same difference, both in rate of sailing and in appearance, between an American and an English vessel, that there is between a race-horse and a cart-horse, or between a light post-coach and a heavy waggon.

It has been said: "The English vessels carry larger cargoes"—true! but then they take nearly double the time to make the voyage. An English merchant very justly said to me: "I would of course rather employ a vessel belonging to my own country; but you must at once perceive, that if I send a consignment to America of the value of 100,000 *l.* , it is of the greatest importance to me to have it delivered as soon as possible. Even the daily interest of such a sum is no trifle, and what then must I think of the interest of three

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weeks or a month? Accordingly, though I pay a higher freight, I always send my goods in American vessels."

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I am happy to say that some public-spirited individuals at Liverpool intend introducing a reform in the manner of constructing merchant vessels. Every friend of his country must wish them success.

The superiority of the American vessel as regards sailing is universally acknowledged. Their small craft, as schooners, sloops, &c., often sail from New York, and Boston, and the other commercial cities, to the West Indies and South America, in a space of time, which, compared with that taken by our English vessels, seems quite incredible. In standing up the Channel, I have really been quite astonished to see the rate at which we ran past all the English ships. An officer in the naval service of our East India Company told me, that the same observation may be made, with regard to the American vessels trading to China. "They can," said he, "sail round us, and I have no doubt would often make the same voyage as we do in one-third of the time; but our vessels are built for carrying cargoes, and not for sailing." This may answer very well as long as the Company retains the monopoly of the China trade; but when it is thrown open, (which it is to be hoped will soon be the case,) they must build their vessels in a different manner, or give up all hopes of profit.

The Americans have practically demonstrated 350 the advantage of making quick voyages with small cargoes, and of consequently obtaining quick returns. Why do not the English imitate them?

A great advantage in the mode of building vessels sharp and long, is, that in the event of a war they may be armed, and can act as privateers; and even if they are not used for this purpose, the war insurance upon them would be much lighter, as many of them sail as fast as any fighting vessel.

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The American ships always start at the very hour appointed, without considering whether the cargo is completed. Again, the Captains of American vessels are for the most part men of a certain degree of scientific education.

In the good old times, when it took three or four months to cross the Atlantic, the Dutch plan was followed of taking in sail at night-fall, heaving to the ship, and lashing the helm; after which important manœuvre, all hands but one turned in.

The Americans laugh at the English practice of commonly shortening sail at night. "If," say they, "it blow fresh, we do indeed shorten sail; if it abate, we hoist more; without any regard to whether it be light or dark." Some English captains have attempted to undervalue this seaman-like practice, as dangerous and fool-hardy; but the best answer is, that even fewer accidents happen to the American vessels, than to the English. Indeed the ships of our trans-atlantic cousins being much sharper built, do not run so great a risk of being lost on a lee-shore; for they can sail much nearer the wind and do not make near so much lee-way. I will conclude my account of the American vessels, by saying a few words about the Packet ships, that sail from New York to Liverpool and Havre de Grace.

They are fitted up in a style of the greatest magnificence. Indeed every thing is lavished upon them that luxury can devise, or comfort require. Handsome carpets, ornamented lamps, silk curtains, a profusion of gilding, glass, and mahogany; a piano-forte and sofas in the ladies' cabin; baths, &c. &c.

"The Paris," a packet-ship trading to Havre, had a cabin fitted up in the most splendid style I ever saw in any vessel, except perhaps in the Royal Yachts of the King of England. The curtains of the births were of rich straw-coloured silk, and the sides of the cabins were of rosewood, mahogany, and curled maple. Moreover, the intervals between the doors of the different state rooms, were panelled with mirrors, and would have reminded me of the appearance of the "Café des Milles Colonnes," if that glory of the Palais Royal had not been far inferior in cleanliness.

CHAPTER XX. THE HUDSON—THE MILITARY COLLEGE.

Leaving New York, I went on board the steamboat, and began to ascend that magnificent river the Hudson.

On the Jersey shore I was pointed out the situation of Hoboken, a place to which so many persons resort for the purpose of fighting duels, that it may be called the “Chalk Farm” of the United States. In the event of an accident, the survivors cross the Hudson to the State of New York, and thus avoid the possibility of an arrest; for one State does not take cognizance of a breach of the laws committed in another, except in particular cases. Much has been said in America upon the subject of duelling, and many laws and regulations have been made with the view of putting a stop to it, but like all similar laws in France, England, &c. they are perfectly nugatory.

In the United States as in England, a Jury would never find a man guilty of murder provided the affair has been honourably conducted. For my own part indeed I hope no act of legislation will be devised, capable of putting a stop to duelling; for I consider it one of the greatest safeguards of polished society, and the surest pledge of courtesy and decorum.

Fifteen miles up the river we passed Haerlem Creek, which by joining the Hudson to Long Island Sound, forms the Island of Manhattan on which the City of New York is built. Above this, the cliffs of the Jersey shore, called the Palisades, are very remarkable, and give a fine character of grandeur to the river below. In many places they form a perpendicular line of rock, resembling an old wall, two or three hundred feet in height.

Beyond the Palisades, our vessel entered that part of the Hudson where it expands and forms “Tappaan Bay.” This was originally named the “Tappaan Sea” by the famous Hendrick Hudson, who supposed it to be a lake, from which the river took its rise, and

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it is so laid down in some old maps. The little village of Tappaan is well known to most Englishmen, from being the place where Major André suffered the punishment inflicted by all nations upon a spy. Much as we may lament the fate of that gallant officer, one cannot but admire the firmness of Washington, who caused him to be executed, in spite of the menaces of the British. André's bravery and accomplishments were no palliation of the monstrous piece of treachery he was organizing with the infamous Arnold. An American writer has properly asked: "Would the British have spared even Washington himself, if taken in disguise, with the proofs of such an act of treachery concealed on his person?"

Beyond Tappaan Bay the Hudson contracts suddenly, 2 A 354 and is pent in on each side by steep, and in many places perpendicular cliffs, called "The Highlands of the Hudson." It would be presumptuous to attempt any description of these magnificent scenes, as they have been for the most part described by that charming writer Mr. Irving, whose works may be considered as having rendered all this part of the country classical ground.

One of the most curious peculiarities in the Hudson, is, that although running through a country of mountains, and actually cutting its way through that part of the Alleghanies denominated the Catskills, it has not a single fall or rapid to obstruct navigation. A line-of-battle ship can ascend it for eighty or ninety miles above New York, and very large sloops and schooners trade constantly between that city and Albany, a distance of 150 miles. In many parts of the Highlands, the cliffs are so steep and perpendicular, that the river has the appearance of flowing at the bottom of an enormous natural trench. At the top of the cliffs, and immediately at the edge, grow lofty woods of pine, which throw their shadows over the river below, and add to the magnificence and solemnity of the scene.

It is almost impossible to imagine a more beautiful or picturesque situation than West Point, where I left the steam-boat.

The Military College of the United States is erected on a fine large table land of between eighty 355 and ninety acres, which, by jutting out from the mountains, seems to have

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prevented the Hudson, which flows round it, from preserving its straight course. The height of this table land above the river is 150 feet, while the rocks which form its sides are exceedingly steep, and in many places perpendicular. There is a small ledge at the foot, which serves as a landing-place, from which a road winds up to the College. Immediately behind the table-land, rise, very abruptly, and to a considerable height, the mountains that form part of the great chain of the Alleghanies. These mountains, which prevent all access to the College on the land side, rear their heads again on the opposite side of the river, and then stretch away to the New England States and the St. Lawrence.

Looking down the river, the prospect is not very extensive; but in the contrary direction, there is a most superb and magnificent view. The village of Newburgh, at a distance of nine miles, is visible in the back ground; and the river is so straight and broad, that it would almost have the appearance of an artificial piece of water if its uniformity were not pleasingly broken by a small wooded island in the midst of it. Far away are seen the lofty tops of the Catskills. The river on each side is pent in by fine forest-covered mountains, the rocky sides of which descend abruptly and in many places perpendicularly to the water's edge. As the mountains in this part of the country are of primitive rock, they have a bold and varied outline; particularly as large bare masses, here and there thrust themselves out from among the trees. The whole of this view is most delightful and enchanting; and indeed I cannot recollect any thing that can well be compared to it, except perhaps some of the most beautiful parts of the Lakes of Killarney.

There are many circumstances which give a peculiar interest to West Point. On a projecting rock directly behind the College, which it overlooks, stands old Fort Putnam, which Arnold intended to give up to the British. The present proprietor of the fort has, in a true spirit of barbarism, partly destroyed it, for the sake of the hewn stone of which it is built; and should he continue his ravages, this fine object will soon cease to exist. When I was there however, sufficient remained to form a ruin of such beauty, that it would bear no disadvantageous comparison with many of the finest old castles in England. I may add that

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the picturesque effect is very much increased, by the cedars that have sprung up above and between the ruined walls and casemates.

To the north of the Point, and at about a quarter of a mile from the College, is a small flat piece of ground, in a little nook, between the foot of the mountain and the river. On this spot, which has of late been converted into a garden, stands a small 357 wooden house, which General Washington made his head-quarters during the revolutionary war. On a very steep projecting point of rock immediately above this, is the burying-ground of the College, where a handsome column of white marble surmounted by some appropriate military emblems, has been erected to those cadets who have died at the place, and whose names are inscribed on it. Another very chaste and beautiful monument stands at the north corner of the Parade, close to the road, by which every one must pass before he can arrive at the College. It is a small tapering obelisk of white marble standing on a simple pedestal, on which is this inscription, "To the memory of Colonel Wood of the engineers, killed in the sortie from Fort Erie, this monument was erected by his friend and commander Major-General Brown," Near this monument is ranged the artillery of the College, consisting of ten pieces of cannon of different sizes, besides a howitzer, and two mortars. Among the cannon are two beautiful brass field-pieces, which were brought to the United States by the French in the revolutionary war. They are highly ornamented; and on them is inscribed, "Ultima ratio regum," a motto at which all good republicans must be somewhat amused.

On the south side of the point, a narrow and very steep path, in which large fragments of rock have been laid to form steps, conducted me down 358 to a small platform, enclosed on three sides by the steep rocks, while on the fourth a perpendicular precipice, of near 100 feet, hangs over the river.

Here dwelt Kosciusko,—Here,

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—Where once the garden smil'd. And still where many a garden flower grows wild, Where now a few torn shrubs the place disclose.—

In this most beautiful spot, while plucking some sprigs from the rose-bushes and sweet-briers, that the Patriot himself had planted, I must have been strangely deficient in romance, if I had not enjoyed to the utmost that indescribable sensation, only to be felt at the abode of a departed hero.

The young men of the College, in a spirit of liberality that does them honour, have subscribed 1500 dollars to build a monument here. It was to be erected in the autumn of 1823; and when finished will be seen at a considerable distance. How would the Hero have rejoiced, if he could have known that his memory would have been thus venerated by the youth of a foreign land! A monument to the Champion of Freedom, will stand well in the Land of Liberty; and by none could it more properly be erected, than by the defenders of the Rights of Man.

The College was founded in 1801, and has ever since continued to educate officers for the American army. The discipline and the system of study were for a long time very imperfect; and it was not until 1817, when Colonel Thayer of the Engineers was appointed superintendent, that the College assumed the high character which it at present so well deserves. I cannot here omit mentioning the obligations I am under to this officer, for his politeness and kindness to me while I remained at West Point. I had a letter of introduction to him, from a general officer at Philadelphia; and immediately upon my presenting it, he gave me a room in his house, treated me with that hospitality which distinguishes his countrymen, and afforded me every opportunity of inspecting the establishment, of being present at the examinations, &c. Colonel Thayer, who has travelled a great deal in Europe, and particularly in France, obtained many valuable hints by visiting the Polytechnic school. The establishment at West Point has now, under his care, arrived as near to perfection, as any place of public education can easily be brought.

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The number of Cadets allowed by Congress is 250, and as the course of education occupies four years, about sixty are admitted annually. The age for admission is from fourteen to twenty. At the first examination, at which many candidates are always dismissed as not sufficiently grounded in the elementary studies, the young men are admitted to what is called, a state of probation, and are subjected to a severe course of study, in French, in mathematics, &c. After six months there is a second examination, which cannot be passed without 360 good talents, as well as great application. At the last admission of candidates, 37 out of 107 were rejected and sent away after this second examination. Those who are successful are admitted as cadets, and complete their four years' course of study, unless expelled for improper conduct, which however rarely happens. Each cadet is allowed by the government sixteen dollars per month, besides two rations per day, calculated at twelve dollars per month; so that the total expense for each cadet is twenty-eight dollars per month. The sixteen dollars, called pay, are to find clothing, books, stationery, candles, and all necessaries, which are furnished to them and placed to their account. If there be any surplus on the balancing of their accounts, they are allowed to draw for it as an encouragement to economy. This is the whole of their expenditure, as friends and relations are most strictly prohibited from furnishing cadets with any pocket money whatever.

The barracks of the cadets are spacious and well built. Three sleep in a room, to which is attached another room in which they study, keep their arms, &c.

The plan of studying, separately and by themselves, what has been previously explained and pointed out at lectures, is found to be much better than having all the cadets assembled in one hall. No cadet is permitted to go into the room of another during the hours of study; an officer being 361 appointed to prevent all visits at that time: The punishment for insubordination is solitary confinement. I was much struck in going round the rooms with the remarkable cleanliness and order of every thing in them; particularly when I was informed that no servants were allowed about the College.

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The first thing the Students do in the morning, is to roll up their beds, and clean their arms, appointments, and rooms. I cannot however give a better idea of their studies, exercises, &c. than by placing before my reader a view, copied from the rules and regulations of the College. The cadets remain four years before they graduate. Those of the fourth year are denominated the First Class, those of the third year the Second Class, and soon.

UNITED STATES' MILITARY ACADEMY. DISTRIBUTION OF STUDIES, AND EMPLOYMENT OF TIME DURING THE DAY.

From dawn of day to sun-rise.

Reveill  at dawn of day—Roll-call immediately after Reveill —Police of Rooms—Cleaning of Arms, Accoutrements, &c.—Inspection of Rooms thirty minutes after Roll-call.

From sun-rise to seven o'clock.

Class 1. Study of Engineering and the Military Art.

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Class 2. Study of Natural and Experimental Philosophy.

—3. Study of Mathematics.

—4. Study of Mathematics.

From seven to eight o'clock.

Breakfast at seven o'clock—Guard Mounting at half-past seven—Class Parade at eight.

From eight to eleven o—clock.

Class 1. Recitations and Drawing relative to Engineering and the Military Art.

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—2. Recitations in Natural and Experimental Philosophy.

—3. Recitations in Mathematics,

—4. Recitations in Mathematics.

From eleven to twelve o'clock.

Class 1. Lectures on Engineering and the Military Art.

—2. Lectures on Natural and Experimental Philosophy.

—3. Study of. Mathematics.

4. Study of Mathematics.

From twelve to one o'clock.

Class 1. Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, Lectures on Chemistry applied to the Arts, or on Mineralogy and Geology.—Tuesday, 363 Thursday, and Saturday, Study of the same subject.

Class 2. Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, Lectures on Chemistry.—Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, Study of the same subject.

—3. Recitations in French.

—4. Study and Recitations of French.

From one to two o'clock.

Dinner at one o'clock—Recreation from Dinner to two o'clock.

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From two to four o'clock.

Class 1. Study and Recitations of Geography, History, Ethics, and National Law.

—2. Drawing of Landscape and Topography.

—3. Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, Drawing of the Human Figure.—Tuesday and Thursday, Study of French.

—4. Study and Recitations of French.

From four to sun-set.

Military Exercises—Dress Parade and Roll-call at sun-set.

From sun-set to half hour past.

Supper immediately after Parade—Signal to retire to Quarters immediately after Supper.

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From half hour past sun-set to half-past nine o'clock.

Class 1. Study of Engineering and the Military Art.

—2. Study of Natural and Experimental Philosophy.

—3. Study of Mathematics.

—4. Study of Mathematics.

From half-past nine to ten o'clock.

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Tattoo at half-past nine o'clock—Roll-call immediately after Tattoo.—Signal to extinguish Lights, and Inspection of Rooms, at ten o'clock.

The “recitations” mentioned, are examinations on the subject of the lecture of the preceding day. This course of studies and exercises, notwithstanding its severity, is prosecuted with the greatest diligence and attention.

In a number of young men there must always be gradations of genius; and it is desirable, that while the first in abilities is not kept back, the last should have nothing required of him beyond his capacity. Colonel Thayer has therefore divided each class into about five sections, each section consisting of twenty cadets at most, and having a lecture-room to itself. Each section is provided with a certain set of text books suited to their different capacities. Thus, for instance, the two first sections of the second class use Gregory's Mechanics, while the two lower sections of the same class use Bridge's Mechanics.

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To enable the College to have clever instructors, the most scientific young officers of the Corps of Engineers and Artillery are selected to attend the Institution, where they assist the different Professors, each taking charge of a section. They are called Assistant and Acting Assistants to Professors; and their rank and pay go on the same as if they were with their regiments.

By means of the subdivision of the classes, the greatest attention can be paid to each cadet, who is certain of being examined every day on each subject of the lectures.

But to give an idea of an examination (or recitation, as it is called), I will mention an example. At the first at which I was present, and which was that of the First Section of the Third Class, the cadets were examined on the subject of Osculating Curves, in Lacroix's Differential Calculus. In an open space at the end of the room, were two large black boards on easels, and each board was divided into two equal parts by a line down

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the centre. The Professor called a cadet by name, who left his seat and book, and went to the board. The Professor then said: "Mr. N—, you will demonstrate such and such a proposition." The Cadet immediately took a piece of white chalk, and began to write out the demonstration. The same was done by three other Cadets successively. As soon as the first Cadet had finished, he placed himself on one side the easel, pointed with his finger to what he had done, and went through an explanation 366 of it. The Professor then asked him a great many collateral questions, after answering which he was desired to sit down, and another Cadet was called to fill his place at the board. By these means there were always three Cadets working out the propositions, while the fourth was being examined; and thus the Professor had not to wait, but after having examined one, could immediately begin with another.

I was much surprised at the severity of the examination. Those only who have studied mathematics, can appreciate the difficulty of going through, and explaining, *vivâ voce*, propositions in the higher branches of Analytics. The students were, I am sure, most perfectly acquainted with the whole subject, otherwise the various collateral questions put to them by the Professor must at once have detected their ignorance. The hope of advancing from one section to another is of course a great stimulus to exertion: indeed there are few institutions in which young men evince so much emulation. Each superintendent of a section keeps a list of the daily merit of the Cadets under him. These lists are made out at the end of every week, and when consolidated are affixed in conspicuous parts of the College; and, after being printed, are sent to the War-Office at Washington, where they are also affixed, and are distributed among the friends and relations of the Cadets.

The following is one of the weekly Lists, and is followed by the Consolidated Report.

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UNITED STATES' MILITARY ACADEMY.

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Weekly Class Report. Week ending Nov. 18, 1820. Class Second. Department of Philosophy. Section Second. No. Names. M. T. W. T. F. S. Total. Remarks. 1 D. 3 2½ 2 2 1 1½ 12 2 R. 3 2 2 1½ 1 1½ 11 3 G. 3 2½ 2½ 2 1½ 1½ 13 4 C. 3 1½ 3 2½ 2½ 3 14½ 5 L. 2 1½ 1 1½ 1 1 8 6 G. 3 3 3 2½ 2½ 8 17 7 Y. 3 3 3 2½ 2 3 16½ 8 M C. ½ -2 0 1 -1 0 -1½ 9 P. 3 3 3 2½ 2 3 16½ 10 T. 2 1½ 2 1½ 2 1 10 11 B. 1½ 1½ 1½ 1 1½ 8 12 W. 1½ 2 1½ 1 1½ ½ 8 13 H. -1 1½ 1½ ½ 1 ½ 4 14 M. 1 ½ 1 0 ½ 0 3 15 D. 1½ 2 1 1 1 ½ 7 16 V. 2 1 1 1 ½ 1 7½ 17 W. 3 1½ 1½ 1 1½ 1 9½ Progress from proposition 315, to proposition 380, in Gregory's Mechanics, Vol. I.

S. T. *Assistant Professor of Philosophy.*

To Lieut. Colonel S. THAYER, *Superintendent Military Academy.*

Explanation of the Figures and Signs used above.

Scale of Merit used. Best. Very Good. Good. Indif. Bad. Worst. 3 2½ 2 1½ 1 0 -1 -2 -3

The intermediate numbers, as 2½, 1½, &c. express intermediate merit.

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Consolidation of the Weekly Class Reports of the Military Academy, for the Week ending 19th of April, 1823.

CLASS. DEPARTMENT. SECTION. BEST. WORST. REMARKS. FIRST. FORTIFICATION AND MILITARY ART. 1st. A. M. G. S. G. G. C. R. 2d. L. N. J. F. D. W. A. J. W. C. GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, ETHICS, AND NATIONAL LAW. 1st. A. M. G. N. A. K. 2d. G. A. G. W. C. H. D. CHEMISTRY APPLIED TO THE ARTS, AND MINERALOGY. A. K. A. M. G. N. A. B. C. H. G. M. TACTICS. 1st. 2d. SECOND. NATURAL AND EXPERIMENTAL PHILOSOPHY AND ASTRONOMY. 1st. D. H. M. R. B. P. J. W. A. S. 2d. W. B. A. J. J. C. A. M. M. W. H. 369 CHEMISTRY 1st. D. H. M. J. W. A. S. R. B. P. 2d. J. M. F. H. C. D. S. M. DRAWING OF LANDSCAPE AND TOPOGRAPHY. D. H. M. W. G. W. J. C. W. B. THIRD. MATHEMATICS. 1st. A. D. B. H. S. P. M'M. F. T. T. S. B. 2d. T. M. W. I. S. A. D. M. G. D. 3d. J. B. G. J. S. W. W. R. M. R. A. C. N. F. W. S. M. FRENCH LANGUAGE. 1st. A. D. B. H. S. S. R. A. F. T. J. R. I. 2d. A. D. M. F. T. C. F. S. 3d. W. I. S. L. W. C. O. C. 4d. G. O. D. J. F. S. F. N. N. F. G. W. G. DRAWING OF THE HUMAN FIGURE. 1st. A. H. B. R. C. S. A. D. M. 2d. G. O. D. W. R. M. J. E. N. F. J. C. 2 B 370 FOURTH. MATHEMATICS. 1st. W. B. W. H. C. B. C. G. R. T. S. T. J. B. 2d. P. A. R. N. St. J. D. I. C. T. G. K. 3d. S. H. R. S. H. W. B. L. 4th. T. A. F. B. M.'N. E. M. L. J. M. E. 5th. J.

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T. P. R. W. K. W. B. H. A. E. B. F. G. FRENCH LANGUAGE. 1st. C. G. R. G. P. B. H. H. R. W. J. B. 2d. T. S. T. P. A. R. S. H. 3d. J. S. H. J. W. 4th. D. H. T. 5th. E. M. L. J. T. P. C. C. T. A. J. M. E. A. E. B. T. S. T.

S. THAYER, *Lieutenant Colonel, Superintendent of the Military Academy.*

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Thus also after the annual examination, which are attended by a board of Officers and Professors appointed for that purpose, a list is printed, with remarks upon the general good or bad conduct, attention to studies, &c. of each cadet, One of these lists is sent to the parents and relations, to the War-office (where it is preserved), and to many officers of the army, and to other individual in office, who take an interest in the establishment. The names of those who have particularly distinguished themselves are printed in the annual Army List. If at the annual examination, the Board finds that any cadet has not made a respectable progress, he is turned back into the class below; and so severe and impartial are the examiners, that this happens frequently in each class. Thus, by the printed list of the examinations of 1822, I saw, that of the first class, (or of those who were about to graduate and become officers,) two were turned back;—of the second class, three;—of the third class, four;—and of the fourth, or junior class, no less than thirteen.

Of those who graduate, the first in merit are appointed to the Engineers, the next to the Artillery, and the rest to the Infantry. In addition to the examination, every cadet, before graduating, is obliged to manœuvre the battallion and the battery of guns, for two hours, in the presence of the inspecting officers. All vacancies in the United States' army are filled up from the College; and in 2 B 2 372 the present reduced state of the military force there are no ensigns, but all cadets on graduating become at once lieutenants.

Colonel Thayer informed me, that there had been some difficulty at first in selecting text books, and particularly in mathematics, for almost all the good works on Fortification, Artillery, Strategy, &c. are written in French, and have not yet been translated. A foolish prejudice has long existed in England, against the introduction of the powerful Analysis

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used by the French Mathematicians. Even when I was at Cambridge, many of the old Fellows of colleges still preferred the antiquated geometrical method; though it was evident that in consequence of pursuing it, the English were, as regarded Mathematics, nearly half a century behind the disciples of La Place and La Croix. The cadets however at the United States' Military College apply so closely to French during their first year, that they are enabled to read that language as easily as English.

The following is a List of the Text Books in use at the College:—

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UNITED STATES' MILITARY ACADEMY.—STUDIES AND CLASS BOOKS.

Class. Department. Subjects. Class Books. FIRST CLASS—Fourth Year's Course. ENGINEERING. Science of Artillery.—Field Portification.—Permanent Fortification.—Grand Tactics. Civil and Military Architecture and Constructions. Treatise on the Science of War and Fortification, by Gay de Vernon. *Traité des Machines*, par Hachette.—Programme d'un Cours de Construction, par Sganzin. HISTORY and ETHICS. Georaphy. History. Moral Philosophy. Law of Nations. Morse's Geography. Tytle's Elements of General History. Paley' Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy. Vattel's Lwa of Nations. CHEMISTRY and MINERALOGY. Application of Chemistry to the Arts. Mineralogy. No Work yet selected. Cleveland's Treatise on Mineralogy and Geology. TACTICS. School of the Soldier, Company and Battalion.—Evolutions of the Line. Exercise and Manœuvres of Artillery. Rules and Regulations for the Field Exercise and Manœuvres of Infantry. Lallemande's Treatise on Artillery. SECOND CLASS—Third Year's Course. NATURAL and EXPERIMENTAL PHILOSOPHY. Statics.—Dynamics.—Hydrodynamics.—Pneumatics. Magnetism.—Electricity.—Optics.—Astronomy. Gregory's Treatise of Mechanics. Newton's Principia. Enfield's Institutes of Natural Philosophy. CHEMISTRY. Chymical Philosopy. Henry's Chemistry. DRAWING. Landscape. Topography. No Work yet selected. 374 THIRD CLASS—Second Year's Course. MATHEMATICS Fluxions. Analytical Geometry. Perspective, Shades and Shadows. Conic Sections. Descriptive Geometry. *Traité du Calcul différentiel et intégra*, par Lacroix. *Essai de Géometrie anlrique appliquée aux Courbes et aux Surfaces du second ordre*, par Biot. Crozet's Treatise on Perspective, Shades and Shadow. Crozet's Treatise on Descriptive Geometry and Conic Sections. FRENCH LANGUAGE. Translation from French into English. *Histoire de Gill Blas*, les trois derniers tomes. *Histoire de Charles*

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XII. par Voltaire. DRAWING Human Figure. No Work yet selected. FOURTH CLASS —First Year's Course. MATHEMATICS. Mensuration and surveying. Trigonometry. Geometry. Algebra. Treatise on Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, and on the Application of Algebra to Geometry, translated from the French of Lacroix and Bézout, by Professor Farrar. Legendre's Geometry. Complément des élémens d'Algèbre, par Lacroix. Lacroix's Elements of Algebra. FRENCH LANGUAGE. Translation from French into English. French Grammar. Histoire de Gil Blas, le tome premier. Berard's Lecteur Francois. Berard's French Grammar. 375

There is no vacation allowed at the institution; but furloughs are granted to a few cadets in the months of July and August, when the remainder leave the College and encamp in different parts of the country, attending only to practical military operations.

Upon looking over the table of studies, it will be seen that the subjects are not very varied; but the greatest possible pains are taken, in order to make the cadets perfect in all of them. Indeed I have no hesitation in saying, that for severity of study, for order, regularity, and quiet, this institution very far exceeds any place of either military or civil education I have ever visited or even heard of.

The College, without considering it merely in a military point of view, will be of incalculable benefit to the United States, as a nursery for science; for it is the only place where the higher branches of mathematics are attended to, and the education which the cadets receive is such, that if they prosecute their studies, they may vie with the scientific men of any part of the world.

Many, after entering the army, remain in it but a short time, and are appointed civil engineers to different States, or are employed in superintending public works and topographical surveys.

As I have before mentioned, it is only since Colonel Thayer was appointed superintendent of the College, that its present admirable system has been organized. As yet therefore it is but a very young establishment; but its advantages are beginning to be sensibly felt, and will every year be more highly appreciated. In a short time, the United States, though

with a very small army, will be able to boast a much larger body of scientific and well educated officers, than any other country in the world.

Every traveller who ascends the Hudson should stop a few days at West Point, if it be only to view the natural beauties of the place. He cannot also fail to admire the neatness of the barracks, the pleasing appearance of the houses and gardens of the Professors, which are ranged along the table land at the foot of the mountain. But I think myself, that the little battalion, dressed in their neat well made grey uniform, and manœuvring in front with the utmost precision and regularity, must interest him more than any thing else, particularly when he reflects upon the *matériel* of which that battalion is composed.

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CHAPTER XXI. THE ARMY.

By an act of March 2, 1821, the army of the United States. is limited to 6,000 men, four regiments of which are of artillery, and seven of infantry. Small detachments are kept in the different forts scattered along the vast frontier, for the purpose of keeping them in order, and preventing them from falling to decay. But there is no one place where an entire regiment is assembled; I believe, not even half a regiment. Such being the case, there is great room for improvement in the discipline and instruction of the privates; for a certain number of men are necessary to perform any of even the more simple manœuvres with a good effect. It is clear therefore, that the reduction of the army to its present low state was neither a liberal nor even an economical policy. Moreover, one of the best means of avoiding war is to be always prepared for it. It must indeed be acknowledged, that in all the Governments of Europe the people bear a very just and natural dislike to a large standing army; for the governor, whether called King or what not, can always employ it against the liberties of the nation. But this is not the case in the United States; for though the President is nominally commander in 378 chief, it is the people who in reality hold the reins of government; and if the President offended them, they would, after his four years were expired, deprive him of his office. Moreover the President could never prevail on

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the officers or troops, all of them staunch republicans, to assist him in any attempt on the liberties of their fellow citizens; and I am sure that the mere hint of such an intention would be instantly fatal to any person whatsoever who proposed it.

The Americans excuse their bad economy in reducing their military force, by saying: "In the event of a war we can trust to our Militia." Now the militia, and particularly that of the western States, is very formidable in defending a thickly wooded country, and forms a corps of excellent light troops; but they never have been able, and they never can expect, to cope with regulars in the open field; for the superiority possessed by disciplined over undisciplined troops, is known to every one. The Americans should also consider, that the more the Atlantic States are cleared and cultivated, the less service can the Militia render, and the greater necessity is there for a respectable body of Regulars.

The Americans have abandoned a great deal of the platoon exercise, which was useless and ridiculous; and confine themselves to what is more essential. The officers are very particular in making each individual soldier a good marksman, by practising 379 a few at a time with ball cartridge at the target. Hence many of the soldiers attain uncommon accuracy; and I am certain a company of American infantry would fire at least three times as many effective shot, in a given time, as any European company.

The discipline is taken for the most part from the French. They use the same short quick step, follow the plan of wheeling by échelon of files on the reverse flank, &c. The sergeants carry the musket and bayonet—as great an improvement over the English Halberd, as that weapon is over the simple sword of the French.

The privates are remarkably well provided for. They are found in uniform and clothing by the government, and receive a pay of five dollars per month, besides their rations. The ration for each soldier is one pound and a quarter of meat, and eighteen ounces of flour per diem; and as he can never consume all the flour, nearly one-third of it is exchanged for vegetables.

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That corporal punishment should have been prohibited by act of Congress, was regretted by every American officer to whom I spoke upon the subject. It is true there is no corporal punishment in the French army; but then no unprejudiced person, after having seen the internal regulations and discipline of a French and English regiment, can fail to acknowledge that our system is far preferable. I do not mean to advocate our present excess of punishment, for one of our ordinary regimental Court Martials can, and usually does, order the infliction of 300 lashes, and a General regimental Court Martial 700. Now even the first number is quite enormous; and very few men indeed can endure the latter, which is nothing more or less than a most cruel and violent torture, equal to anything inflicted by the Spanish Inquisition. The back of a man after receiving three or four hundred, lashes is so dreadfully lacerated that nothing but surgical skill is able to prevent mortification. I myself am disposed to think the number of lashes should, even in extreme cases, be limited to 100. More than thirty or forty are rarely inflicted in the Navy, and this is amply sufficient, both as a punishment to the individual, and as an example to his comrades; for a man who has received so many lashes with a cat-o'-nine-tails on his bare back, will carry the marks of them with him to the grave.

I am not sufficiently acquainted with the system of the French Army to be able to state in what manner they punish a refractory soldier, when on a line of march, or in the field; but in the American army, the only punishment, which in such a case can be inflicted on the criminal, is to send him to the rear. This is no punishment at all to a man insensible of disgrace, and one is obliged to allow that such men exist in all armies. When the regiment arrives at its quarters, if there be no prison or place of confinement, it is very difficult to inflict any additional punishment. How much better therefore it would have been to have summoned at once what is termed a *drum-head* Court Martial, and sentenced the culprit to receive a few lashes: for it appears to me, that it is desirable, particularly, in military affairs, and in order to make a much stronger impression on spectators, that offenders should always be punished as soon after the offence as possible.

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The Americans follow nearly the same mode of enlisting as we do, except that a Jury will release a man who has been enlisted, either when drunk, or through unfair means. However, as the English are a free nation, they will no doubt adopt the same equitable practice.

In the manufacture of small arms, the Americans have already made, and are still continuing to make, very great improvements. Some of their last-made muskets appeared to me superior to ours: particularly as they were all double-sighted, without which contrivance, any great accuracy in firing is impossible. In the rifles they furnish to their army, they far excel us; not only because the rifles are made on a better principle, but chiefly from the greater pains that are taken in the construction and arrangement of the sights. Before a rifle is sent from any of the factories, it is tried frequently at a mark; and if it be not found to throw the ball with accuracy it is altered; after 382 which the sights are adjusted with admirable nicety and precision.

Manufactories for small arms are established in different States of the Union, and supported by the Government. The two principal ones are at Springfield in Massachusetts, and at Harper's Ferry in Virginia, at both which places the workmen employed are the best that can be obtained. Among a variety of very curious and useful machines that have been adopted for assisting labour, I was most struck with one that is made use of to turn the gun-stocks; and I can see no reason why the same principle might not be applied to the turning of wooden busts, as well as to a thousand other purposes. An iron model of the gun-stock called "a former" directs, while revolving, a small cutting instrument, which in a short time fashions the piece of wood placed in the machine into a complete stock for a musket, with the exception of hollowing out the place to receive the barrel and the lock. All the musket-stocks of the United States' army are made by this machine, which might certainly be used in dock-yards to the greatest possible advantage.

Another very ingenious machine forms musket-bullets by mere compression. There are two wheels of steel, the circumferences of which are pierced with small cups, each

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of sufficient size to contain half a musket-bullet. These cups are close to one another, and have at the bottom a very small hole to allow the escape of the air, which would otherwise prevent the lead from completely filling the cavity. A small strip of lead, some, what thicker than the diameter of a musket-bullet, is introduced between the circumferences of the wheels, which nearly touch one another, and which by revolving force it into the cups, from whence it afterwards falls out on the opposite side in the shape of complete spheres. There are two very great advantages in the bullets formed by this machine. First, they have not that small cavity their interior, which cannot be got rid of in those that are cast, and which varies according to the heat of the lead. Secondly, the compressed bullets are heavier than those of a larger size made in the common manner. Moreover, from both these reasons, the flight of the bullet is rendered much more accurate.

On observing the annexed diagram it will immediately strike the reader that the machine acts upon the same principle as the cylinders employed in our Dock-yards for rolling copper.

A. A. the two steel wheels. B. B. the cups in the circumferences of the wheels. C. the small bar of lead.

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The musket barrels are all browned like those of the English, as are also the bayonets, with the exception of a few inches from the point. Experiments are making to ascertain whether locks on the percussion principle cannot be applied to small arms, and it seems probable that these locks will soon be adopted.

“It is estimated that the cost of muskets this year will be about two dollars per stand less than in 1817. The quality of the arms, now manufactured, is greatly superior to those made in 1817.” “The introduction of labour-saving-machinery has effected, not only a reduction of expense, but more perfect workmanship, and a more exact system of uniformity.”

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"The arms now made are considered to be worth at least 20 per cent. more than those made in 1817."* "The muskets manufactured at the national armouries in 1817, were then estimated to have cost 13 dollars 90½ cents.

"The contract-price at that period was 14 dollars.

"In 1821 the arms made are estimated at 12 dollars 51½ cents.

"Difference between average of 1817 and 1821 1 dollar 39 cents.

"The average cost of the arms made this year, it is believed, will not exceed 12 dollars."*

* Documents accompanying the President's Message of 1822, pages 36 and 37.

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The Militia being the force on which the United States chiefly rely for defence, every citizen is obliged to be enrolled in it from the age of eighteen to forty-five, and to go armed to the musters in order to be drilled. These musters take place four or five times a-year, for a day at a time; and every one who is not present, and cannot give a satisfactory reason for his absence, is fined five dollars. Of course all persons holding offices under the Government, or having rank in the army or navy, are exempt. In consequence of this admirable institution, every individual is armed, and is sufficiently a soldier, to turn out at a moment's warning, and defend his country from an enemy. More over, it is a circumstance well worthy of remark, and perhaps of imitation, that each regiment of Militia chooses its own officers.

As the officers are the only persons obliged to be in uniform at the Militia Musters, the rest of the soldiers are in their ordinary dresses, and the long coats, short coats, and jackets, being all mixed together present a motley and laughable appearance. Of course however this does not diminish the utility of the institution: for as Napoleon said, when speaking of the King of Prussia: "I soon convinced him, that the fate of a battle did not depend on the

cut of a jacket, or on the arrangement of a row of buttons." The Militiamen of the Western States generally appear in their hunting shirts, a dress that is very becoming. 2 C

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In addition to the Militia, there are in every State and town, and particularly in every large town, a great many volunteer or independent companies. A number of young men of the better class form themselves into a corps, choose their officers, and meet at different times for the purpose of drilling, according as their captains may order. Whoever belongs to one of these corps is exempt from serving in the militia. Their uniforms, which they choose themselves, are in general very handsome, and each individual is always remarkably well appointed. These corps are generally Rifle companies, or artillery, though there is here and there a corps of cavalry; and I can say from my own observation that some of the light infantry manœuvre uncommonly well.

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CHAPTER XXII. THE GRAND CANAL—NIAGARA.

I left West Point with no little regret. From thence I ascended the Hudson to Albany, a town of antiquated appearance, and which the Dutch founded, when they possessed the State of New York. The houses, which are neatly painted, have generally their gable ends turned towards the street; some of them moreover are constructed with small Dutch bricks.

Albany continues to thrive and increase, by carrying on an extensive trade with the interior of the State; and as it is here that the great Canal, reaching from Lake Erie, enters the Hudson, it will soon become a place of great importance.

This stupendous Canal, which, like the great wall of China, forms a visible line on the terrestrial globe, has raised the State of New York to the highest rank in the Union.

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“* No one need inquire what are the advantages of the State of New York for internal commerce. The map of our State will answer the question, and put curiosity at rest. Neither do we want ability to improve those advantages which Providence 2 C 2

* Considerations on the Great Western Canal, its advantages, &c. Brooklyn, 1818.

388 has placed around us. A State which rests her borders upon the ocean on one side, and on the other reposes on the greatest chain of internal seas upon the face of the globe, diversified by interior lakes and tributary streams, with a river whose tides and other facilities for navigation can scarcely find a comparison; a State that contains a more extensive soil than Portugal, the United Netherlands, or England and Wales put together; a State that stands in the heart of the Union, and could now sustain the whole population of the American empire, and can yearly pay ten or twelve millions of dollars into the treasury of the nation, without inconvenience; whose splendid commercial emporium, even now has a tonnage that no city in the world can equal but London itself; finally, a State that contains a million and a half of wealthy, intelligent, enterprising, and high-minded Republicans, attached to the Union, the Government, and the Laws—we say that such a State presents no common spectacle—we are proud in its contemplation. We are proud too of the great and salutary end to which these resources are bent.”

The length of the great canal is 353 miles. The width on the water-surface is forty feet, at the bottom twenty-eight feet, and the depth four feet. The number of locks is seventy-seven, each lock being ninety feet long and twelve feet wide; and it is calculated that boats carrying 100 tons 389 may navigate the canal. The cost of making it has been 5,000,000 of dollars.

It is impossible to form any idea of the vast advantages which must accrue to New York and to the United States in general from this magnificent work. Great as these are even at present, one cannot attempt to calculate what they may be hereafter, as we do not know the resources of the great regions around Lake Huron, Michigan, and Superior. It was only the other day, that some great copper-mines were discovered near the last-mentioned

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lake. By connecting the Hudson with the great Lakes, the inland States have, as it were, been brought nearer to the Atlantic.

The great river Illinois, passing through the State of that name, and falling into the Mississippi, takes its rise almost on the very shore of Lake Michigan. During the high waters after rain, the Indians, even at the present time, pass up this river and enter the Lake in their canoes, there being a complete water communication. This circumstance is a very curious geographical fact, and shows by what a very slight "dividing ridge" the waters that find their way to the ocean through the St. Lawrence, are separated from those that rush into the channel of the Mississippi. Hence, almost without an effort, a canal could be cut, joining Lake Michigan with the Illinois river, which is broad, deep, sluggish, and otherwise peculiarly adapted to navigation. I have before mentioned, that it is the intention of the State of Ohio to establish a communication with the Great Lakes, by means of a canal through its territory. So easily, and at so trifling an expense can this be effected, that the State of Ohio, though so young, has determined to begin it immediately.

Let any one, with the map of the United States before him, contemplate this vast chain of inland navigation. The Great Lakes, and the interior of the North Western territory, will be connected with New Orleans and the Gulf of Mexico on one side; on the other with New York, by the Great Canal; and with Lower Canada and the St. Lawrence by means of the Champlain Canal. Were it not useless in the present age, to insist upon the well-known advantages of free institutions and popular governments, one might point to the Canal undertaken by the State of New York, and say to the worn-out and leaden despotisms of Europe: "Behold what Freedom can accomplish! What work can you produce of such grandeur and utility, as that of this infant Republic?"

The road from Albany to Utica follows the course of that fine river the Mohawk. The country through which it passes is rich and well cultivated, but it is not very picturesque until near the Little Falls.

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The channel here resembles a trench, and appears to have been the outlet and drain of a great 391 Preæ-adamite Lake, the water having forced a passage through the barrier of primitive rock which crosses the flat country. The curious and rugged rocks by which the river is pent up, and the large trees growing here and there out of the clefts, would form a fine subject for the pencil of an artist.

This part of the country was chiefly settled by the Dutch, and some exceedingly fertile low ground above the Little Falls has from this circumstance been called "The German Flats." These are in as high a state of cultivation as many of the best farms in England.

At Utica, a very flourishing little town, I embarked in one of the passage-boats which navigate the canal, and proceed at the rate of four miles an hour by night and by day. They are as comfortable as their size will admit. The cabin, which occupies nearly the whole of the boat, is well furnished; and the fare on board is very good.

Near Oneida Creek we passed a party of the Oneida Indians who were amusing themselves with fishing. When they sold their lands to the United States, they reserved a large tract in this neighbourhood for the use of the tribe, and they now live upon it to the number of about 1100. Though they are becoming somewhat civilized, they prefer hunting and fishing to cultivating the earth, a labour which they are but seldom willing to undertake.

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The morning after leaving Utica, our boat passed the Cayuga Marshes, which some enterprising people in the neighbourhood are attempting to drain, by cutting away a barrier that prevents the waters from finding their way into Lake Ontario. This bold scheme, which will no doubt succeed, will almost entirely drain some of the group of Lakes that are situated in this part of the State of New York.

Nothing can be more ridiculous, than the names that have been given to the little insignificant villages in all this part of the country, as Rome, Athens, Sparta, or what is

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still more absurd, Tully, Pompey, Virgil, Dryden, Milton, &c. This bad taste infects to a certain degree the whole of the United States, innumerable little miserable towns being designated by the names of London, Paris, Madrid, Calcutta, Constantinople, &c. as if on purpose to excite the laughter and contempt of the traveller.

On the second morning after leaving Utica I disembarked at Rochester, having travelled on the canal 160 miles. Rochester is a very flourishing little town, situated on the Genessee river, which the canal crosses on a superb stone aqueduct 780 feet long. In the lower part of the town is the magnificent fall of the Genessee. The bed of the river is composed of a horizontal stratum of limestone, so that the river is precipitated down a perpendicular height of 96 feet, off a large shelf as it 393 may be called, 700 feet wide. Some settlers had lately been establishing themselves on the upper part of the river, and had been cutting down the trees, many of which falling into the water were washed away. I had the satisfaction of seeing two of these float down to the edge of the fall, where they were precipitated to the bottom with a tremendous crash.

The water has been conducted from the main channel of the river to several mills situated on each side of the gulf, and after having turned the wheels, forms some pretty little cascades on the side of the great fall. These mills are very useful to the neighbourhood, and grind a vast quantity of flour, besides sawing timber, &c. An old Indian, when he saw the first that was erected, after looking at it for some time, exclaimed: "White man is very cunning, he makes even the water work." This fall was much the finest I had, up to that time, ever seen.

The road from Rochester to Lewistown, a small village on the Niagara river, is called "The Ridge Road," from its running along the top of a small natural ridge, which is so regular, that in many places it has the appearance of being artificial. As a great many settlers had lately fixed themselves in this part of the State, Log-cabins were rising in all directions, and the work of clearing was going on rapidly. Each little open spot was covered with masses of burning timber; and the large trees that 394 had been girdled the year before, were

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in many places in flames even to the tops, producing at night a very extraordinary and splendid effect. We now passed a very large cedar swamp, the road through which was a “corderoi” one, a term I have already explained. Our rickety old stage jolted so terribly, that we had to get out and walk the whole distance, assailed on every side by myriads of mosquitoes. The swamps which I have seen in different parts of America have been, without exception, covered with thick forests of cedar and cypress. These trees seem to delight in marshy spots, many of them actually growing out of the water. The ground, if ground it can be called, out of which they rise, appears to be the same that, in Ireland and Scotland, is called Peat Bog, or Peat Moss; and I am confident that the same kind of trees might be planted with great advantage in the bogs of both those countries. It would be well worth the while of those gentlemen who possess extensive tracts of this kind of land, to try the experiment; for should it succeed, what is now nearly useless would soon become exceedingly valuable.

A curious conversation took place between two of the passengers in the stage, with regard to the system of smuggling carried on by the inhabitants of the Canadian frontier. One of them said, that he was well acquainted with a British subject, residing at Newark Upper Canada, who annually 395 smuggled from 500 to 1000 chests of tea into that province from the United States. He mentioned the name of this man, who he said was growing very rich in consequence; and he stated the manner in which the fraud was managed. Now as all the tea ought to be brought from England, it is of course very expensive; and therefore the Canadian tea dealers, after buying one or two chests at Montreal or elsewhere, which have the custom-house mark upon them, fill them up ever afterwards with tea brought from the United States. It is calculated that near 10,000 chests are annually consumed in the Canadas, of which not more than 2 or 3,000 come from Europe. Indeed when I had myself entered Canada I was told that of every 15 pounds of tea sold there, 13 were smuggled. The profit upon smuggling this article is from 50 to 100 per cent, and with an extensive and wild frontier like Canada, cannot be prevented. Indeed it every year increases, and is brought to a more perfect system. But I suppose that the English

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government, which is the perfection of wisdom, will never allow the Canadian merchants to trade direct to China, in order (that from pure charity) the whole profit of the tea trade may be given up to the United States.

I was surprised to find, that notwithstanding the weather had been uncommonly hot, yet at every little tavern where we stopped, there was an abundant supply of ice, for cooling water, wine, &c. 396 This is the case throughout all the United States, as the lowest labourer would not like his whiskey and water in summer, were it not iced. The ice houses are upon an uncommonly simple plan, being merely an inverted and hollow cone or pyramid of wood, which is sunk into the earth, with a drain from its apex, and a small wooden shed built over it, the door of which is so contrived as always to allow a free draught of air. This preserves the ice through the whole of a Virginian summer; and in such abundance can this article be had in the cities, that five cents, or about two-pence halfpenny, will purchase sufficient for the use of a large family for a day. When the thermometer stands at between 80° and 90° in the shade, the luxury of a plentiful supply of ice can easily be imagined. It is more. over of great use to the people, by enabling them to preserve meat, &c. for a longer time.

I slept at Lewistown, which is 80 miles distant from Rochester, and 486 from New York. It was one of those frontier towns of the United States which were burnt during the last war by the British and Canadians, by way of retaliation for the burning of Newark. Several ruins of houses still bear witness to the havoc of war.

The next morning I proceeded to the falls of Niagara, which are about 14 miles off. The approach up the river is by far the best; for at one point of the road, you see them at a distance to 397 great advantage. This prospect redoubled my eager desire of arriving, and I was almost tempted to jump out of the carriage (which owing to the badness of the road could proceed but slowly), and run forward towards them. When at last I did arrive, I experienced those indescribable sensations of admiration and delight, that every one feels on viewing for the first time one of the most sublime works of nature. I have heard

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it said, that many on first seeing the falls are disappointed; but this I cannot imagine; unless indeed those fastidious persons say they are disappointed out of a wish to affect singularity. here are some persons who are determined never to be pleased: for I have heard disappointment expressed even by those who have for the first time seen the Alps, the Simplon road, St. Peter's, or the Colisseum. But I do not myself envy this vain discontentedness. I had for some time worked up my imagination to the highest pitch, and had endeavoured to condense in my mind every thing I had read of the object I was preparing to visit; but on arriving I found that all the ideas I had conceived, all the descriptions I had read, were nothing to the reality. A painting indeed, or an indifferent drawing, give a better idea of natural scenery than all that words can describe. But even the most accurate and highly finished painting cannot supply us with two of the most imposing and important accompaniments of a 398 waterfall, motion and noise. The same defect must necessarily occur in every picture of a battle.

I think myself that to form an idea of any grand natural object which one has never seen, one must be able to compare it to something that one has seen of approximating magnitude. For could a citizen of London, who has never visited any rising ground higher than Highgate Hill; or any greater rush of water than that from the sluice at the end of the Serpentine, form any idea of Mount Blanc, or the falls of the Rhine? For my own part although I have seen the most celebrated falls in Switzerland and Italy, yet I think that compared to Niagara, they are merely as the spout from a church gutter, to the fall of Terni.

How can I give an adequate idea of what I now beheld? Look at the map of America, and observe the immense country drained by the Niagara river. The four great Lakes, or as they might with propriety be called fresh water seas, with all the numerous and large rivers that flow into them, have only this one outlet for their superfluous waters. Lake Superior, the largest collection of fresh water on the face of the Globe, is 381 miles in length, 161 in breadth, and in circumference little less than 1152* It is remarkable for its extraordinary depth, the estimated average of which

* This statement of the size of the Lakes is from Mr. Bouchette's work on the Canadas.

399 is 900 feet. Lake Huron in point of extent yields but little to Lake Superior. Its greatest length is 218 miles, its greatest breadth 180; and its circumference, measured through all its curvatures, is not less than 812. Lake Michigan, which, though distinguished by a separate name, can only be considered as part of Lake Huron, is 262 miles in length, 65 in breadth, and 781 in circumference. Lake Eric is 281 miles in length, 63 in width in its broadest part, and 658 in circumference. Now the superfluous waters of these four vast Lakes, and of all their tributaries, rushing down the broad and deep channel of the river, and when within half a mile of the cataract, forming most magnificent rapids, come foaming down the slope with frightful velocity, and when at last arrived at the edge, take one tremendous plunge of 162 feet perpendicular.

After having gazed at this wonderful sight for nearly a whole day, I retired to rest, thinking I had formed a most accurate conception of what I had seen; but on rising the next morning I was astonished to find how inadequate even the recollection of it was, and how impossible it seemed for the mind to contain the image of so grand an object.

It would be worth a long journey to see only the rapids above, which, descending fifty-one feet down a slope of half a mile, bear a strong resemblance to the breakers on a rocky coast after a violent gale. The river above the rapids is about two miles wide, but 400 is soon very much contracted by Goat Island, which separates the two falls. That on the American side is somewhat the highest, and would probably exceed any other in the world, if it were not for the horseshoe fall on the Canadian side. Down the centre of this the greater part of the stream is precipitated. The water is here of a beautiful sea-green colour, resembling one enormous wave, while on the American side it pours down like a sheet of molten silver. When the sun shines on the thick cloud of spray, that constantly rises and prevents any one from seeing the bottom of the great fall, a most beautiful and perfect rainbow is formed, with its two ends resting on the abyss. This reminded me of part of the description which Lord Byron in the 4th canto of Childe Harold has given of the

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Fall of Terni. Indeed all the following beautiful lines, except the fifth and sixth of the third stanza, apply so well to Niagara that they convey a better idea of it than any description I have read:—

“The roar of waters!—from the headlong height Velino cleaves the wave-worn precipice;
The fall of waters! rapid as the light The flashing mass foams shaking the abyss; The hell
of waters! where they howl and hiss And boil in endless torture; while the sweat Of their
great agony, rung out from this Their Phlegethon, curls round the rocks of jet That gird the
gulph around, in pitiless horror set,

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“And mounts in spray the skies, and thence again Returns in an unceasing shower, which
round With its unemptied cloud of gentle rain Is an eternal April to the ground Making it all
one emerald:—how profound The gulf! and how the giant element From rock to rock leaps
with delirious bound Crushing the cliffs, which, downward worn and rent With his fierce
footsteps yield in chasms a fearful rent.

“To the broad column which rolls on, and shows More like the fountain of an infant sea
Torn from the womb of mountains by the throes Of a new world, [than only thus to be
Parent of rivers which flow gushingly, With many windings through the vale:] Look back! Lo
where it comes like an eternity, As if to sweep down all things in its track Charming the eye
with dread—a matchless cataract,

“Horribly beautiful! but on the verge, From side to side, beneath the glittering morn, An Iris
sits, amidst the infernal surge Like Hope upon a death-bed, and unworn Its steady dyes,
while all around is torn By the distracted waters, bears serene Its brilliant hues with all their
beams unshorn, Resembling, 'mid the torture of the scene Love watching madness with
unalterable mica.”

After having seen Niagara, I cannot but think this an exaggerated description of Terni,
though when I visited that beautiful cascade, I recollect reading with the greatest delight

these verses of the first of all living poets. But if Terni could inspire such verses what might we not expect if his Lordship should visit Niagara. 2 D

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It was once an expedition of great trouble and fatigue to arrive at this place, but there are now most excellent inns on both sides of the river. Those on the Canadian side are much to be preferred, as the other does not command a view of the falls. In Mr. Forsyth's excellent house, I could look upon them from the window of the billiard-room; and from some of the higher rooms I could see to the very centre of the horseshoe fall. Every thing has been done to render access to different parts of the scene easy, even to ladies. The Americans have thrown a wooden bridge from the New York side to Goat Island. Several bridges were swept away before one could be fixed; but the present one is now quite safe, and the piers standing in the centre of the terrible rapids, show what the perseverance and enterprise of man can effect. Goat Island could not previously be approached by any animals except birds. There are convenient wooden stairs attached to both of the perpendicular precipices below the falls, so that any one can easily descend and approach as near as he chooses to the foot of the cataracts.

Much has been said about the possibility of going a short distance under the sheet of falling water on the Canadian side. Now the rock below is indeed so much hollowed out, that the water pitches about ten feet beyond it, and at a short distance it appears very possible to go under. Moreover some persons in the neighbourhood told me, that they had advanced 403 as far as twenty feet under the fall. I determined therefore to imitate their example, a young American gentleman who was staying at Forsyth's offering to accompany me. Having provided ourselves with staffs, &c. we descended the steps, and approached the falls. Although we were in a few moments completely wet to the skin, the water actually running down our backs, we nevertheless proceeded to within five or six paces of the falling sheet. Here the air rushing out from the hollow between the rock and the cataract, accompanied by the tremendous roar which almost stunned us, and by a thick spray which beat in our faces like the most violent storm of rain, very much abated

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our ardour, and obliged us to turn our backs when we wanted to breathe. Trying to push on a few steps, the force of the current of air threw me down among the fragments of rock, which cut my arm. On my getting up again we were both glad to retreat for about forty paces.

Wishing however to succeed, we again ventured forward after a short rest, and advanced several paces further than the first time, even, as I believe, just below the edge of the sheet of water: but breathing only by sobs and with the greatest difficulty, and being blinded by the spray, as well as deafened by the thundering noise, we were again obliged to retreat, and give up the undertaking. Had I stumbled, after I had advanced as far as possible, I should most probably have rolled under the 2 D 2 404 falling water and been torn to atoms. Forsyth told us, that when there is a strong wind blowing up the river, the spray is not by any means so violent, and that then it really is possible to go underneath the cataract; but, I must confess, that I am very sceptical about any one's having proceeded twenty feet under it.

Just below the wooden stairs is a small boat which is made use of for crossing from one side to the other. Those who are courageous enough not to mind a good ducking, and who have sufficiently strong lungs to breathe in an atmosphere so violently agitated and mixed with spray, may venture within twenty paces of the bottom of the cataract; but although there is little or no danger in so near an approach, yet so awful is the scene, that few have courage to venture. The tremendous violence of this "falling sea" appears to beat down the hissing and foaming water, which tries as it were to boil up again, although seeming to tremble at the leap already taken.

From hence, as far down as Queenstown, the banks of the river are from 200 to 300 feet high, and quite perpendicular. A few miles below the falls, the stream, which is much contracted, turns off at right angles, and forms what is called "The Great Whirlpool." This is a very curious and remarkable place; for the water which rushes into it with great violence, brings down large trees and logs, which to the number of some hundreds keep

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405 constantly following one another in a circle. On coming to the point where the rapids terminate, they are plunged under water, carried a considerable distance, and then re-appear on the surface to continue their mazy course.

On viewing the banks from the falls to Queens-town, a distance of seven miles, nothing can be more evident than that the water once fell at that place. No doubt it has been many hundred centuries in cutting its way to its present site, but as the strata over which the water flows are horizontal, the attrition must of course be slower than it otherwise would be. Slowly indeed, but not less certainly, the cataract recedes towards Lake Erie; and after the lapse of another series of ages, it will partly drain that lake, and produce important changes on those above it. Mr. Forsyth, who had resided on the spot for forty years, told me that in his recollection the centre of the Horseshoe-fall has receded from ten to fifteen yards: and as some intelligent travellers have placed upright a few large stones in front of the other hotel, which when taken in line point exactly to the present centre of the fall, it will of course be ascertained at the end of a certain number of years, how much this centre recedes annually.

Few places would afford a more agreeable summer's residence than the neighbourhood of the falls. There is plenty of shooting to be had at a short distance, and the fishing is perhaps the best in the 406 world. Thousands of salmon trout of a great size, together with white fish, &c. are caught immediately below the falls; and the numbers of large sturgeon that come up to the same place, afford excellent sport to those who are at all dexterous in throwing a fish spear. Above the falls also, a great quantity of very large fish is to be caught, either with nets or with the hook and line. While I was at Niagara the weather was uncommonly fine and warm, and the river, at a mile or two above the rapids, was spotted over every night in the most picturesque manner, with canoes carrying lighted torches of pitch-pine. Out of these boats the settlers and Indians transfix with their spears a great number of very large fish which are attracted by the light.

Along the whole of the Niagara frontier, several sharp little battles were fought between the British and Americans, during the last war.

Some of the information with regard to the environs of the Falls is extracted from Mr. Darby's interesting work, from which also is taken the very accurate map which is annexed.

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CHAPTER XXIII. BUFFALO—THE INDIANS.

Leaving the Falls, I proceeded on an excursion to the small town of Buffalo, on Lake Erie. The road, on the Canadian side, runs close to the broad, deep, and rapid stream of the Niagara River, and passes through a cleared and well-cultivated country; while the views, presented as one drives along, are extremely beautiful, The Canadian bank is divided into well-cultivated fields, while that on the New York side remains covered with thick forest. But in consequence of the stimulus given by the neighbourhood of the Great Canal, the New York side is beginning to be settled, and will doubtless soon be as well cultivated as its Canadian rival.

After crossing the river at the little village of Blackrock, three miles of very bad road brought me to Buffalo, a small town, but which is rising to eminence with wonderful rapidity, from the circumstance of its being the place where the Grand Canal enters Lake Erie. Many of the Indies of the Six Nations were assemble here to receive payment from the United States for some lands purchased of them. Their number, in the town and its immediate neighbourhood, was about 1200, being a large portion of all that remains of these once powerful tribes.

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It is a melancholy thing for any one to contemplate the rapid decrease of the aborigines of America, a decrease at first begun by the sword, and which is now more rapidly effected by the pernicious effects of ardent spirits. Moreover as the settlements of the

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Backwoodsmen extend to, and border on the frontier, the Indians find themselves, as it were, pushed back; and since the game decreases in proportion as the country becomes inhabited, their means of subsistence decrease also. Under these circumstances, they are induced to sell their lands to the United States; although they generally reserve a small tract for themselves, to which they can retire if they please, and cultivate the earth. Many remove back into the woods; and being uncontaminated by the neighbourhood of civilization, remain a very fine race of men, and differ materially from the demi-civilized Indians, who soon lose the virtues, as well as the appearance of savages. Moreover, as the white men occasionally form a very intimate acquaintance with the Squaws, a race of what the Americans call half-bloods is the consequence.

In their wild state, the Indians are brave and noble-minded, always keeping their promise inviolable, and considering hospitality to a stranger as a sacred duty. As to their treatment of prisoners, I will only observe that greater cruelty has been practised, in similar cases, by nations calling themselves civilized. An old Indian very properly remarked to me: "When we take prisoners of war, we cannot, like the white men, shut them up in strong houses; for we live in the woods, and can scarcely support ourselves: we must therefore either make brothers of our enemies, or kill them." I think myself, that if an Indian had seen one of our hulks during the French war, he would sooner have been at once burnt to death after the manner of his country, than incarcerated year after year in one of these floating Bastiles. But even during times of peace, *civilized* Europeans have practised barbarities which an Indian would scarcely credit.

What would he think of the Inquisition, of the Star Chamber, of the Spanish atrocities in South America, of the still existing Slave Trade, and of the tortures that have been inflicted in every Christian country, upon individuals unwilling to submit to tyranny, or unable to believe the incomprehensible dogmas invented by bigoted and depraved priests? If you told such things to an Indian, he would shudder with horror. I grant he tortures his captive; but then it is a man whom he has taken in open warfare, and by whom, if had he been conquered, he would have been served in the same manner. Would an Indian burn one

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of his own tribe, one of his brothers, because he differed from him with regard to some abstract opinion, which both parties must in their consciences allow to be doubtful? Not only would he be shocked at the bare idea 410 of such an atrocity, but he would never be persuaded of its ever having been really committed. Thus, when a gentleman once related to an Indian Chief some historical accounts of religious persecutions, he received for answer, "Brother! what you tell me cannot be true. It is not White men who do so: You tell me the history of Devils." Yet forsooth these devils call themselves civilized people, and have written volumes of abuse against the barbarous Indians.

This much injured race has never had an historian to vindicate, nor a poet to celebrate their actions; and while, if any massacre of the whites took place, the press teemed with accounts of Indian barbarity, no one has taken the trouble to investigate the wrongs, that drove the Indians to assuage their vengeance in the blood of their enemies. The following extract of a speech of the great warrior Tecumtha,* gives a good idea of the treatment they have met with from Europeans:—

* i. e. "The Shooting Star."

"Brothers† —When the white men first set foot on our grounds, they were hungry. They had no place on which to spread their blankets, or to kindle their fires. They were feeble: they could do nothing for themselves. Our fathers commiserated

† Hunter's Memoirs of his Captivity among the Indians, page 45. This work of my friend Mr. J. D. Hunter gives the best and most accurate account of the Indians yet published. His opportunities indeed of collecting information have been, and are likely to be, unrivalled.

411 their distress, and shared freely with them, whatever the Great Spirit had given his red children. They gave them food when hungry medicine when sick, spread skins for them to sleep on, and gave them grounds that they might hunt and raise corn—Brothers, the white people are like poisonous serpents: when chilled, they are feeble and harmless; but invigorate them with warmth, and they sting their benefactors to death. The white people

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came among us feeble; and now we have made them strong, they wish to kill us, or drive us back as they would wolves and panthers.—Brothers, the white men are not friends to the Indians: at first, they only asked for land sufficient for a wigwam; now nothing will satisfy them but the whole of our hunting grounds, from the rising to the setting sun.”

Unfortunately, the Indians, like all uncivilized nations, have an extraordinary propensity for spirituous liquors; which they will almost always drink until intoxicated. Hence the United States have humanely prohibited, under severe penalties, any one from selling them spirits; but I regret to say that it is impossible to enforce this law, as I had good opportunities of seeing. Whiskey is now doing the work of extermination that was formerly carried on with the sword. Where are the powerful tribes that once inhabited New England? Their names even are forgotten! Where are the powerful tribes that inhabited New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia? Most of them are exterminated, or are driven far back into the Western wilderness where they form but a miserable remnant of what *they* once have been.—In a few years they also will disappear, for the race of Indians appears doomed to extermination. An old warrior said, but too prophetically: “We are driven back until we can retreat no further—a little longer, and the white men will cease to persecute us; for we shall cease to exist.”*

* Preface to Indian Wars in the West.

The Indian character has so often been described, that it would be useless to add any thing on that subject. I will only say, that although they have little talent for Poetry or Music, they nevertheless excel in Oratory, of which the speech of Logan,† is a noble specimen. It has generally been supposed that the Indians merely speak extempore; but this is quite a mistake, for they take as much pains, in considering the subject before hand, rounding the periods, and studying attitudes, as any lawyer before going into Westminster Hall. These speeches generally produce a great effect upon the tribe, who sit round, and listen with the utmost attention, the silence being only occasionally interrupted to express their applause.

So attentive indeed are the listeners, that they can generally repeat the whole speech, and that a year or two afterwards.

† Vide Notes to Campbell's Pleasures of Hope, Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, &c.

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Buffalo presented quite a lively spectacle. In one place a small party of Chiefs were holding converse about the money. In another some of the men were bargaining for broad-cloth, blankets, or axes; in a third was a collection of Squaws, some of whom had their infants with them; while a little removed from the street, were a few old warriors, squatted on the ground, and smoking from their tomahawks. I may here remark, that the back of the axe or blade of each tomahawk is formed into the shape of the bowl of a pipe, and when a hole is bored through the handle communicating with this bowl, the tomahawk becomes the favourite and almost only pipe of the Indian, answering both for war and amusement. What added materially to the picturesque effect of this scene, were the curious, and in some cases fantastic dresses of the men and women.

The men generally wear a sort of blue frock coat, much like that worn by the whites, with a red sash round their waists, Indian leggings of blue or red cloth, ornamented at the bottom with beads and split porcupine quills, and deerskin mockasins (sandals), also ornamented. Almost all wear large ear-rings, and I remarked one man with a ring through his nose.

The Squaws, or women, wear the ornamented leggings, and have a large white blanket wrapped round them in the manner of a cloak, so as to hide their whole person, except from about the calf of the 414 leg to the foot. Some of the young unmarried squaws are handsome; but after marriage, Indian women, from being obliged to work, become remarkably ugly. The men are mostly good-looking, tall, and uncommonly straight and upright.

Indians are very good judges of the cloth, blankets, and other articles which they purchase; more so indeed than the whites. The moment they lay their hands on a piece of

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broad cloth, or a blanket, they know its quality and its value; and the shopkeepers told me that it would be quite impossible to cheat them. They will purchase no cloth or blankets but the superfine; and at however low a price an inferior article may be offered to them, they will not even look at it, apparently determined to have the best, or none.

It is amusing to see the manner in which the Squaws carry their children. The child is swaddled, and bound to a board, which rather increases in size upwards, and projects six or eight inches above the head of the young Indian. The mother fastens this board to her shoulders, the child and she of course looking different ways. But when she goes into a house to buy any thing, she takes the board from her shoulders, and placing the lower part on the ground, leans it in a sloping position against the wall, in the same manner a porter would his load. I have laughed to see one or two of these boards placed against the wall, while the little urchins with their brown faces were looking 415 out above the bandages, and although so completely helpless, seemed contented with their situation.

After the money was distributed, there was a grand foot-race. Ten or fifteen of the most nimble Indians started from the bottom of the town, to run a mile and a half out, and the same distance back again, which was to be repeated three times without stopping, making on the whole a distance of nine miles. The runners were stript nearly naked, and set off at that long springing pace which is peculiar to the Indians, and which enables them to get over a great deal of ground, without appearing to do so. No little anxiety was manifested by their companions, each time that they returned to the goal; but at last the race was won by a large athletic Indian of the Alleghany tribe, whose name being interpreted is the Black Squirrel.* The prize was made up by a subscription among the Indians, who all contributed something. One of the townspeople moreover presented a red flag to the winner, on which was inscribed in white letters: "Eclipse for ever, old Virginia a little tired," an inscription which alluded to the great horse-race at New York, but which, as it was of

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* The Indians always give the individuals of their tribe names descriptive of their exploits, mode of life, the qualities in which they excel, &c. Among the names of the most celebrated Chiefs we find, Split-log, Walk-in-the-water, Little Turtle, Mad Buffalo, &c.

416 course unintelligible to the Indian, did not by any means diminish his extreme delight in receiving the trophy.

Constant though vain attempts have been made in the neighbourhood to convert the Indians to Christianity, a labour which Mr. Irving very properly remarks has long been considered the most important branch of civilization, and that which all the zealous have most strenuously extolled?* “It was truly a sight that might well inspire horror, to behold these savages stumbling among the dark mountains of Paganism, and guilty of the most horrible ignorance of religion. It is true, they neither stole, nor defrauded; they were sober, frugal, continent, and faithful to their word; but though they acted right habitually, it was all in vain, unless they acted so from precept. The new comers, therefore, used every method, to induce them to embrace and practise the true religion,—except indeed that of setting them the example. But notwithstanding all these complicated labours for their good, such was the unparalleled obstinacy of these stubborn wretches, that they ungratefully refused to acknowledge the strangers as their benefactors, and persisted in disbelieving the doctrines

* Knickerbocker's New York, book i. cap. v. The whole of this chapter is well worth perusing, as it gives, though in a humorous way, a most faithful picture of the means of civilizing and converting the Indians, adopted by the early settlers in America, and which, though somewhat modified, are still pursued by their descendants.

417 they endeavoured to inculcate; most insolently alleging, that from their conduct, the advocates of Christianity did not seem to believe in it themselves.”

Among the Indians of the Six Nations, the great opposer of the only true faith is the celebrated chief Red Jacket, whom I saw and made acquaintance with at Buffalo. This

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fine-looking hale old man wore round his neck a large silver medal, which was given him by General Washington, and of which he is extremely proud. I cannot better explain the reasons of his opposition to Christianity, than by giving an account of two councils, held between the Indians of the Six Nations and the agents of the Missionary Society. The speeches were taken down in short-hand by some gentlemen present, and after being read over to my Indian friend, who said they were correct, were published in several of the United States newspapers.

*“In the summer of 1805, a number of the principal Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations, principally Senecas, assembled at Buffalo Creek, in the State of New York, at the particular request of the Rev. Mr. Cram, a missionary from the State of Massachusetts. The Missionary, being furnished with an interpreter, and accompanied by the Agent of the United States for Indian affairs, met the Indians in council, when the following talk took place: 2 E

* American Speaker.

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First by the Agent. —“Brothers of the Six Nations, I rejoice to meet you at this time, and thank the Great Spirit that he has preserved you in health, and given me another opportunity of taking you by the hand.

“Brothers, the person who sits by me is a friend who has come a great distance to hold a talk with you. He will inform you what his business is, and it is my request that you would listen with attention to his words.”

Missionary. “My friends, I am thankful for the opportunity afforded us of uniting together at this time. I had a great desire to see you, and inquire into your state and welfare: for this purpose I have travelled a great distance, being sent by your old friends the Boston Missionary Society. You will recollect, they formerly sent Missionaries among you to instruct you in religion, and labour for your good. Although they have not heard from you

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for a long time, yet they have not forgotten their brothers the Six Nations, and are still anxious to do you good.

“Brothers, I have not come to get your lands or your money, but to enlighten your minds, and to instruct you how to worship the Great Spirit, agreeably to his mind and will, and to preach to you the gospel of his Son Jesus Christ.—There is but one religion, and but one way to serve God; and if you do not embrace the right way, you cannot be happy hereafter. You have never worshipped the Great 419 Spirit in a manner acceptable to him; but have all your lives been in great errors and darkness. To endeavour to remove these errors, and to open your eyes, so that you might see clearly, is my business with you.

“Brothers, I wish to talk with you, as one friend talks with another; and if you have any objections to receive the religion which I preach, I wish you to state them; and I will endeavour to satisfy your minds, and to remove the objections.

“Brothers, I want you to speak your mind freely; for I wish to reason with you on the subject, and if possible, remove all doubts, if there be any on your minds. The subject is an important one, and it is of consequence that you give it an early attention, while the offer is made you. Your friends, the Boston Missionary Society, will continue to send you good and faithful ministers, to instruct and strengthen you in religion, if, on your part, you are willing to receive them.

“Brothers, since I have been in this part of the country, I have visited some of your small villages, and talked with your people. They appear willing to receive instruction, but as they look up to you, as their elder brothers in council, they want first to know *your* opinion on the subject. You have now heard what I have to propose at present. I hope you will take it into consideration, and give me an answer before we part.” 2 E 2

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"After about two hours' consultation among themselves, the Chief, commonly called by the white people 'Red Jacket,' whose Indian name is 'Sa-gu-yu-wha-hah,' which interpreted is 'Keeper-awake,' rose, and spoke as follows:*

* This Speech deserves attention as a specimen of Indian Oratory.

"Friend and Brother, it was the will of the Great Spirit that we should meet together this day. He orders all things, and has given us a fine day for our Council. He has taken his garment from before the sun, and caused it to shine with brightness upon us. Our eyes are opened, that we see clearly; our ears have been unstopped, that we have been able to hear distinctly the words you have spoken. For all these favours we thank the Great Spirit, and Him only.

"Brother, this council fire was kindled by you. It was at your request that we came together at this time. We have listened with attention to what you have said. You requested us to speak our minds freely. This gives us great joy; for we now consider that we stand upright before you, and can speak what we think. All have heard your voice, and all speak to you now, as one man. Our minds are agreed.

"Brother, you say you want an answer to your talk, before you leave this place. It is right you should have one, as you are at a great distance from 421 home, and we do not wish to detain you. But we will first look back a little, and tell you what our fathers have told us, and what we have heard from the white people.

"Brother, listen to what we say. There was a time when our forefathers owned this great island. Their seats extended from the rising to the setting sun. The Great Spirit made it for the use of Indians. He had created the buffalo, the deer, and other animals for food. He had made the bear and the beaver: their skins served us for clothing. He had scattered them over the country, and taught us how to take them. He had caused the earth to produce corn for bread. All this He had done for his red children, because He loved

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them. If we had some disputes about our hunting grounds, they were settled without the shedding much blood. But an evil day came upon us. Your forefathers crossed the great water, and landed on this island. Their numbers were small. They found friends, and not enemies. They told us they had fled from their own country for fear of wicked men, and had come here to enjoy their religion. They asked for a small seat. We took pity on them, granted their request, and they sat down among us. We gave them corn and meat; they gave us poison* in return.

* Alluding, it is supposed, to ardent spirits.

“The white people had now found out our 422 country. Tidings were carried back, and more came among us. Yet we did not fear them. We took them to be friends. They called us brothers. We believed them, and gave them a larger seat. At length their numbers had greatly increased. They wanted more land; they wanted our country. Our eyes were opened, and our minds became uneasy. Wars took place. Indians were hired to fight against Indians, and many of our people were destroyed. They also brought strong liquor among us. It was strong and powerful, and has slain thousands.

“Brother, our seats were once large, and yours were small. You have now become a great people, and we have scarcely a place left to spread our blankets. You have got our country, but are not satisfied; you want to force your religion among us.

“Brother, continue to listen. You say, that you are sent to instruct us how to worship the Great Spirit, agreeably to his mind; and if we do not take hold of the religion you white people teach, we shall be unhappy hereafter. You say, that you are right, and we are lost. How do we know this to be true? We understand that your religion is written in a book. If it were intended for us, as well as you, why has not the Great Spirit given it to us, and not only to us, but why did he not give to our forefathers the knowledge of that book, with the means of understanding it rightly? 423 We only know what you tell us about it. How shall we know when to believe, being so often deceived by the white people?

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"Brother, you say there is but one way to worship and serve the Great Spirit. If there be but one religion, why do you white people differ so much about it? Why not all agree, as you can all read the book?"

"Brother, we do not understand these things. We are told that your religion was given to your forefathers, and was handed down from father to son. We also have a religion, that was given to our forefathers, and has been handed down to us, their children. We worship in that way. It teaches us to be thankful for all the favours we receive, to love each other, and to be united. We never quarrel about religion.

"Brother, the Great Spirit has made us all, but he has made a great difference between his white and his red children. He has given us different complexions and customs. To you he has given arts. To these he has not opened our eyes. We know these things to be true. Since he has made so great a difference between us in other things, why may we not conclude that he has given us a different religion, according to our understanding? The Great Spirit does right: He knows what is best for his children: we are satisfied.

"Brother, we do not want to destroy your religion, 424 or to take it from you. We only want to enjoy our own.

"Brother, we are told you have been preaching to the white people in this place. These people are our neighbours. We are acquainted with them. We will wait a little while, and see what effect your preaching has upon them. If we find it does them good, makes them honest, and less disposed to cheat Indians, we will then consider again of what you have said.

"Brother, you have now heard our answer to your talk, and this is all we have to say at present. As we are going to part, we will come and take you by the hand, and hope the Great Spirit will protect you on your journey, and return you safe to your friends."

“As the Indians began to approach the Missionary, he rose hastily from his seat, and replied that he could not take them by the hand; that there was no fellowship between the religion of God and the works of the devil. This being interpreted to the Indians, they smiled, and retired in a peaceable manner. It being afterwards suggested to the Missionary, that his reply to the Indians was rather indiscreet, he observed, that he supposed the ceremony of shaking hands, would be received by them as a token that he assented to what they had said. Being otherwise informed, he said he was sorry for the expressions.”

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“In May 1811, a second Council was held at the same place, when Red Jacket delivered the following Speech in answer to one made by the Rev. Mr. Alexander, a missionary from the Missionary Society in New York.”

“Brother, we listened to the talk you delivered to us from the Council of the Black Coats* in New York. We have fully considered your talk, and the offers you have made us. We perfectly understand them, and we return an answer, which we wish you also to understand. In making up our minds, we have looked back, and remembered what was done in our days, and what our fathers have told us was done in old times.

* The appellation given to the Clergymen by the Indians.

“Brother, great numbers of Black coats have been among the Indians, and with sweet voices and smiling faces, have offered to teach them the religion of the white people. Our brethren in the East listened to the Black coats, turned from the religion of their fathers, and took up the religion of the white people. What good has it done them? Are they more happy, and more friendly one to another, than we are? No, brother! they are a divided people; we are united,—they quarrel about religion; we live in love and friendship,—they drink strong water—have learned to cheat—and to practise all the vices of white men,

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which disgrace Indians, without imitating the virtues of the white 426 men. Brother, if you be our well-wisher, keep away, and do not disturb us.

“Brother, we do not worship the Great Spirit as the white men do; but we believe that forms of worship are indifferent to the Great Spirit. It is the offering of a sincere heart that pleases him, and we worship him in this manner.—According to your religion, we must believe in a Father and a Son, or we shall not be happy hereafter. We have always believed in a Father, and we worship him as we were taught by our fathers.—Your book says, that the Son was sent on earth by the Father. Did all the people who saw the Son believe in him? No! they did not, and the consequences must be known to you, if you have read the book.

“Brother, you wish us to change our religion for yours. We like our religion, and do not want another. Our friends” (pointing to Mr. Granger, Mr. Parish, and Mr. Taylor) “do us great good. They counsel us in our troubles, and instruct us how to make ourselves comfortable.—Our friends the Quakers do more than this, they give us ploughs, and show us how to use them. They tell us we are accountable beings, but do not say we must change our religion. We are satisfied with what they do.

“Brother, for these reasons we cannot receive your offers. We have other things to do, and beg you to make your mind easy, and not to trouble 427 us, lest our heads should be too much loaded, and by and by burst.”

In spite of all these arguments, the Missionaries still continue to intrude upon the tribe of Red Jacket. So much has he been vexed at this, that a short time before I saw him, he made a journey to Washington in order to complain of their conduct, and to request that they might be hindered from going among his people.

To confess the truth, nothing can be more irrational than the method pursued by the Missionaries. They should first of all have taught the Indians the most necessary arts, and have shown them the advantages of civilization. When the Indians had sufficiently abandoned their wild mode of life, the Missionaries might then have proceeded to give

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them a learned education, so that by dint of study they might be enabled to form a candid and accurate estimate of the historical and other Evidences of Christianity. But instead of acting according to this rational plan, the Missionary Societies have sent among the Indians a set of well meaning persons religiously mad. These men preach to the noble-minded sensible chiefs, about grace, and election, and predestination, and regeneration, &c. &c. words which convey rather confused ideas. Moreover the Missionaries disgust their auditors by telling them that all their fathers and famous warriors are gone to a certain place of torture, because they did not believe in a religion they never heard of.

Even if the Missionaries ever do make converts, which but seldom happens, they inflict a curse upon the Indian and not a blessing, by destroying his high sense of honour, his great motive for practising virtue.

The Indians are an uncommonly intelligent and shrewd people; but although they will readily give their assent to all good arguments upon morality, yet I regret to say, that they are very sceptical with regard to accounts of miracles, wonders, mysteries, &c. The generality of the Missionaries plunge at once “in medias res,” without attempting to explain the historical evidences of our holy religion, of which evidences indeed I very much doubt whether they themselves know any thing. Hence the Indians naturally refuse their belief to the very strange stories, which are related to them out of the Bible.

Dr. Franklin* tells us of the remark of an Indian Chief, when a Missionary had been explaining to him, how Adam and Eve, by eating the apple in Paradise, occasioned the eternal damnation of all their posterity.—The Chief got up, and replied, with the utmost gravity, “that it was certainly a very bad thing to eat apples, as it was much better to make them into cider.”

* Vide Franklin's Essays.

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A gentleman, who had been much among the Indians, told me an anecdote which is somewhat similar. "A Missionary had been relating to an assembly of Indians many of the miracles contained in the Old Testament, and among others that of Jonah and the Whale. With a great deal of difficulty he prevailed on the Indians to say they believed it; but going on from wonder to wonder, he read to them the account of Noah's going into the Ark with a pair of all the animals on the face of the earth, savage as well as tame. Here one of the Chiefs interrupted him, saying, 'No, no, brother, we now do not believe the story of the Big fish, we now know that you tell us lies.'"

Yet, notwithstanding this unpardonable want of faith, I am obliged to allow that the religion of these benighted Indians is simple and sublime. They believe in one Great Spirit, the creator and ruler of the Universe. But they worship him only in their hearts, erecting neither temples nor altars to him. Again they have no stated times or forms of prayer; but they address him, when they are in trouble, or when they are anxious about the success of any of their undertakings.

To show what their ideas upon religion are, I shall here insert a speech of the great chief Tecaughretanego to his adopted son, Colonel Smith, who was taken prisoner by the Indians in 1755, and who remained four years with them.* I must

* Vide Indian Wars in the West, in which work, part of Colonel Smith's interesting pamphlet is published.

430 first of all mention, that together with the venerable old Chief, he was at one time very nearly starved to death, and was glad to make a meal upon some of the sinews remaining on old bones of foxes and wild cats. After describing this dreadful situation, he says: "I speedily finished my allowance, such as it was, and when I had ended my repast, Tecaughretanego asked me how I felt? I told him that I was much refreshed. He then handed me his pipe and pouch, and desired me to take a smoke. I did so. He said that he had something of importance to tell me, if I were now composed and ready to hear it. I told him that I was ready to hear him. He said: "The reason I have deferred my speech till now,

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was because few men are in a right humour to hear good talk, when they are extremely hungry, as they are then generally fretful and discomposed; but as you appear now to enjoy calmness and serenity of mind, I will now communicate to you the thoughts of my heart, and those things I know to be true.

“Brother, as you have lived with the white people, you have not had the same advantage of knowing, that the Great Being above feeds his people, and gives them their meat in due season, as we Indians have, who are frequently out of provisions, and yet are wonderfully supplied; and that so frequently, that it is evidently the hand of the great Owaneeyo* that doth this: whereas the white

* This is the name of God in their tongue, and signifies the owner and ruler of all things.

431 people have commonly large stocks of tame cattle, that they can kill when they please, and also their barns and cribs filled with grain. They have not therefore the same opportunity of seeing and knowing, that they are supported by the ruler of Heaven and earth.

“Brother, I know that you are now afraid that we shall all perish with hunger; but you have no just reason to fear this.

“Brother, I have been young, but am now old. I have been frequently under the like circumstances that we are now, and *that*, some time or other, in almost every year of my life; yet I have hitherto been supported, and my wants supplied in time of need.

“Brother, Owaneeyo sometimes suffers us to be in want, in order to teach us our dependance upon him, and to let us know that we are to love and serve him; and likewise to know the worth of the favour that we receive, and to make us more thankful.

“Brother, be assured that you will be supplied with food, and that just in the right time; but you must continue diligent in the use of means; go to sleep, and rise early in the morning,

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and go a hunting; be strong and exert yourself like a man, and the Great Spirit will direct your way.”

Now the Missionaries could hardly affirm that such beautiful sentiments on religion were inspired by the Devil.

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CHAPTER XXIV THE ST. LAWRENCE—MONTREAL—LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

I returned from Buffalo to the Falls of Niagara, and in a day or two set off for the little town of the same name (formerly called Newark), situated at the point where the Niagara river enters Lake Ontario. It was the first place that was set on fire by the Americans at the commencement of the last war, with the exception indeed of some large mills that they had already destroyed, above the Falls, and opposite Black Rock. Yet they might have known that his act of cruelty, which as far as I could learn was perfectly uncalled for, was not likely to further the conquest of the Canadas. Like the burning of Washington, it only tended to unite the people at large, against an enemy who could be guilty of such a crime. Besides, all civilized nations of the present age, recognize it as an axiom, that war is not carried on against individuals, and that consequently the property of individuals ought to be respected. I am glad, however, to be able to state, that Newark has risen from its ashes with increased vigour, and that, although a small town, it is at present in a very flourishing condition.

My reader will perhaps scarcely believe, that while the State of New York is expending millions of dollars on its great canal, the Canadians have so little enterprise, that although for only 40,000 dollars, a canal might be cut, which would join the Lakes Erie and Ontario, yet nothing has been done, nor appears likely to be done.

In most parts of the world, and even in the United States, a most erroneous opinion has been formed of the climate of Canada. So strong is the force of prejudice, that the word Canada suggests the idea of a country bound up with ice, covered with snow, and

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desolated with perpetual winter. Now, on the contrary, the climate, particularly that of Upper Canada, is a very fine one. In the winter indeed there is a great deal of cold; but then it is a pure clear cold, that enables a person, who is well clad, to take a great deal of agreeable exercise in the open air, uninterrupted by thaws or wet. There is no Spring, but a Summer of intense heat comes on at once. On the sixth of June, at the Falls of Niagara, my pocket thermometer stood at 84° in the shade, and in the sun the heat was nearly insupportable. On the same day I saw two humming birds on the Canadian side of the river. This, which was only the commencement of the hot weather, may give some idea of the heat in July and August.

Mr. Darby* very justly observes: "The caprices of mankind are difficult to reconcile. With a soil at least equal, and a climate incomparably more

* Vide Darby's Tour.

434 congenial to his habits, it is curious that the Northern Emigrant has so often neglected the banks of the St. Lawrence to seek those of the Mississippi." I perfectly agree with Mr. Darby, and recommend any one determined to emigrate (which I by no means advise him to do if he can possibly find subsistence at home), to settle either on the frontier of Canada, or in those parts of the United States that border it. For my own part, if I were to leave England, I would settle in the State of New York.

To an emigrant who has some little capital, the United States afford a better prospect than the Canadas; for he may buy land cheap, may trade if he please to any part of the world, and may even look forward to the possibility of his children's rising to the highest offices in the State, if they have merit or abilities sufficient to advance themselves. Moreover, if one must emigrate, let it be to that Country, where there is more freedom than any where else on the face of the earth.

On the other hand, to a poor man, to whom every dollar is an object, and who cannot afford to purchase land, Canada offers decidedly the greatest advantages; for the

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government will give not only him, but also each grown up member of his family, a moderate sized tract of land, upon the condition of his clearing it, and building a log-house upon it.

However, I should consider both New York and Canada far preferable to the Prairies of the West, 435 not only on account of proximity to markets, but because the climate is incomparably more healthy. So strongly am I persuaded of this, that I would rather possess a farm of 200 acres in the Western part of the State of New York or in Upper Canada, than one of the three times the extent in Indiana, Illinois, or Missouri.

From Niagara I went in the Steam boat to Sackett's Harbour, touching at the mouth of the Genessee river. The boat was a very fine one, with excellent accommodations; and as it kept near the southern shore of the Lake, we were within sight of land during the whole distance of 186 miles.

Sackett's Harbour is the depôt for the American Shipping on lake Ontario. The vessels that were in the water, appeared to be rotting and going to pieces, as fast as well could be; for many of them were half full of water, and some completely scuttled. There is however an immense line-of-battle ship of 110 guns that has not yet been launched. This has a house built over it, and is in excellent preservation. I was told that at a little distance from the harbour, there was one, nearly as large, on the stocks.

From Sackett's Harbour I crossed over to Kingston in a small packet boat; and as there had been some gales on the upper part of the Lake, there was so much swell, that I experienced the same sickness as if I had been at sea. Indeed in all 2 F 2 436 these large fresh water Lakes, the swell is so considerable during a breeze, that even the steamboats of several hundred tons burden, exhibit the scenes, which, if we may believe Caricatures, very frequently take place on board a Margate Hoy.

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In crossing from Sackett's Harbor to Kingston, a distance of thirty-six miles, the lake exhibits a very pleasing scene, from the numerous islands with which it is diversified.

Kingston is the British naval depôt, and is a very pretty and flourishing little town. The harbour is an excellent one, and is well defended by some batteries and a large fort. Several vessels were afloat here, which though decaying, were kept in much better order than those on the American side. But there were two large frames upon the stocks, which not being housed, will I think, be in a short time extremely injured by the sun and rain. The barracks, which are tolerably well built and very comfortable, were occupied by a regiment of light infantry and a company of artillery. Kingston is by far the most flourishing town of Upper Canada, though York is nominally the capital of the province.

Some fine Steam-boats ply from this place to Prescott, a distance of seventy-five miles. The broad expanse of the St. Lawrence, from its origin in Lake Ontario, to Brockville, twenty miles above Prescott, is studded with numerous islands, which are covered with the most luxuriant foliage, 437 wherever their rocky surface affords any place for trees themselves. These from their number, have been called "the thousand islands," and this part of the St. Lawrence "the Lake of the thousand islands;" but their exact number was not known, until the Commissioners for determining the boundary between the United States and Canada, ascertained, that there were 1692, reckoning as an island, every rock on which there was a tree. These islands, being of various shapes and sizes, from the simple rock on which grows a solitary pine or cedar, to the largest, eighteen miles in length, afford an infinite diversity of picturesque views. We sometimes glided through a small narrow channel, bounded by perpendicular rocks, which almost touched the sides of the Stream-vessel. At other times we entered a broader, expanse, where the islands formed numberless beautiful vistas, which, from the rapid progress of the boat, were continually varying. The pure clear water of the St. Lawrence, so different from the muddy streams of the other American river, added considerably to the general effect. I never in my life have beheld a scene of such romantic beauty.

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The islands terminate at Brocksville; and from thence to Prescott the channel of the St. Lawrence is open and picturesque, being about a mile and a half wide, with bold rocky banks on each side.

The stream-boats do not proceed beyond Prescott, a small village situated at the head of the rapids. 438 These continue at intervals to interrupt the navigation all the way down to Montreal, except for Batteaux and flat-bottomed boats, in one of which I accordingly determined to embark.

The bottom of the Channel of the St. Lawrence makes in many places a considerable slope, down which the whole body of water rushes with surprising velocity.

There is generally only a very small part of the channel where the boats can pass; and they must be piloted with a great deal of skill and sang-froid, especially as in the worst part, called "the lost channel," they would be dashed to pieces in an instant. The water, which is very much agitated in every part of the rapids, assumes in the lost channel the appearance of the most terrible surf. The rapids are of different lengths. The longest, called the "Long Sault," continues for nine miles. The worst is the Rapid of the Cedars, where the water curls up, roars, foams, and splashes over one, and where the only safe part of the channel is so narrow, that if the boats are not kept in an accurately straight line, they are inevitably lost. It was curious to see the velocity with which the trees on the banks appeared to run past us; indeed the whole voyage afforded me a great deal of amusement, though when going down some of the worst rapids, I was obliged to hold my breath between fear and administration.

I stopped for the first night at the top of Lake 439 St. Francis, a part of the St. Lawrence twenty-four miles long, and which being from three to six miles broad, is consequently without any rapids. The second night, I stopped at the village of the La Chine rapids, and only about ten miles from Montreal. Here I at first experienced some difficulty in getting accommodation for the night, but was at last kindly received into the house of a French

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Canadian on the outskirts of the village, where I found most excellent cheer, and a good bed.

The Indians of this village are by far the most civilized of any that I ever saw. They have all very comfortable houses, cultivate the earth, and possess a great many head of cattle. They have built a very large church with a steeple and bells, and support a Catholic priest who officiates in it. The young men and boys amuse themselves with fishing, shooting, &c.; and when I landed from the boat, which was late in the evening, I saw a great number of the young women, some of them very good looking, amusing themselves with swimming in the river.

In this village, the houses, sides of the church, &c., were all covered with myriads of that description of fly called in England the Mayfly. Clouds of these kept passing over the river, into which numbers fell, and were drowned, or devoured by 440 the fish. What astonished me most was that they appeared all to come from the North.

The next morning, just as we began to descend the La Chine rapids, our pilot Paul took off his hat, crossed himself, and said a prayer. The descent was indeed more dangerous than I had supposed; for a boat had that very morning been lost, and I saw the remains of it on the rock where it had struck.

Down these rapids float many large timber-rafts, with oars fastened to different parts of them, by means of which they are steered out of the current of the lost channel of each rapid, though constantly swung round and round by the violence of the stream. On these rafts there are often whole families, who appear to be tolerably comfortable in their little sheds or huts, made of loose boards, and in which they have even fires for the purpose of cooking.

I forgot to mention, that just before descending the La Chine rapids, we had one of those violent thunder-storms so common in this part of America. The day had been intensely hot, and the sky without a cloud; when on a sudden, a large black spot was visible on the

horizon, which rising upwards formed a most extraordinary dark column. This continued to increase, and spreading over head, sent forth most vivid flashes of forked lightning, accompanied by claps of thunder that were quite terrific.

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The first thing that every traveller remarks on arriving at Montreal, is that all the roofs of the houses and churches, and even all the steeples, are covered with tin. These, when the sun shines upon them, dazzle the eyes like so many looking-glasses. The houses are of stone, and very substantial; but the streets are remarkably narrow and inconvenient. In this respect they differ essentially from those of most towns in the United States, where the streets are in general very wide. Montreal indeed has all the appearances of a town in some old European country, where the houses are crowded together from the value of the ground on which they are built.

From carrying on a very considerable trade both with Europe and Upper Canada, Montreal is in a very flourishing condition and increases rapidly.

A canal might at a small expense be cut from the Ottawa, to a river falling into Lake Huron, and would thus not only obviate the portage occasioned by the falls of Niagara, but also the risk incurred, by descending the rapids of the St. Lawrence.

The inhabitants of Lower Canada, from having preserved their language, their religion, and their manners, differ altogether from any other people I have seen in North America. When passing through the different States of the federal Republic, and even when crossing the boundary to Upper Canada, I could scarcely perceive the slightest 442 difference of national character; but the moment I entered Lower Canada, I found every thing changed, as completely indeed, as if I had passed from England to France.

The people of Lower Canada have made but little progress in agriculture, continuing their old system of cultivation, and being very unwilling to adopt even the most obvious improvements. Indeed, the generality of the inhabitants live in the same uncomfortable

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sort of houses that were built by the first emigrants; and there appears to be none of that spirits of enterprise, none of that wish to put themselves forward, that distinguishes the people of the United States, and of Upper Canada, and which will very soon place the Upper province far above the Lower one.

A great injury to the advancement of Lower Canada is, that whole families, nay, the inhabitants of a whole village often leave their habitations, and go up the St. Lawrence for the purpose of cutting lumber. At first sight, the money thus earned may appear so much clear profit; but it is not only a very precarious mode of gaining a livelihood, but it often occasions the land to be left uncultivated, and gives the men wandering habits that are destructive of industry.

The French Canadians appear however upon the whole, to be a very contented set of people, with a great deal of leisure and but few cares, and possessing all that lightness of spirits, which characterizes 443 the nation from which they are descended. They supply almost eh only batteaux-men who navigate the St. Lawrence. Moreover, they form, I believe without exception, the only hunters for the North West Company—an employment for which they are admirably adapted. They not only have a great inclination for a roving life, but when out on these hunting expeditions, which often last several years, they agree with the Indians, than any other set of men; and are happy and contented upon much coarser fare, than would be agreeable to an Englishman, of the descendants of an Englishman.

After remaining a day or two at Montreal, I crossed the St. Lawrence, and bargained with a man, who possessed a small house on the bank, to drive me in his Char, as far ad the village of La Prairie. My conductor was one of the most lively and lighthearted fellows I ever met. He entertained me during the drive, with an account of himself, his parish, and the great proprietors in it. A Curé, who lived somewhere in his neighbourhood, seemed however to engross most of his thoughts. After telling me the number of bushels of grain this curé received, and which he appeared to think very prodigious, he held up the two

forefingers of one of his hands, and exclaimed: "You may call the longer one the King, and the shorter one the curé; for there will soon be no longer greater difference between the wealth of these two personages."

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On leaving La Prairie I bade adieu to the St. Lawrence, which is by far the most beautiful river I ever seen. I had previously thought that nothing could surpass the Ohio; but that river is much inferior to the St. Lawrence in picturesque beauty. Parts of the Rhine, the most beautiful river I have seen in Europe, might, if on a larger scale, be compared to it; but the immense size of the great Canadian river adds an air of grandeur to its beauty, that places it above all comparison.

An old lumbering vehicle, dignified with the name of a stage, brought us from La Prairie to St. John's, through a flat and uninteresting country, which however is tolerably well cultivated, and afford numerous specimens of the farm-houses of the French Canadians. For several miles, we passed through a low birch wood, every leaf and green twig of which had been destroyed by caterpillars, of which thousands were still clinging to the boughs of every tree. Indeed, these caterpillars were sometimes congregated in such numbers, and so close together, that until I got out of the stage and examined them, I could not but believe that the trees were diseased. I never before had seen such devastation committed by the insect tribe. The driver told me, that the people in the neighbourhood intended to assemble and try to set fire to the wood, as the only means by which the caterpillars could be destroyed.

At the little town of St. John's, situated on the 445 river which connects Lake Champlain with the St. Lawrence, I embarked on board one of the superb steam-boats which ply upon the Lake. The entrance to Lake Champlain is narrow, and through a flat country thickly covered with copse wood. Ten miles below St. John's is "Isle Aux Noix," a most important station, on which the British are erecting some strong fortifications. At no great distance from this, is a large and beautiful fort, built by the Americans, and which commands the

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upper part of the Lake. The commissioners, who were appointed to ascertain the boundary line between the United States and Canada (settled by treaty to run in Latitude 45°, from the State of Maine to the St. Lawrence), found out, by an astronomical survey, that this fort was a few poles on the British side of the line. They made, however, another discovery, not quite so favourable to the British, as the only navigable channel of the Long Sault rapid was found to be in the territory of the United States. It is said that this will give the Republicans a strong argument in support of their right to the free navigation of the St. Lawrence; for if this be refused, they will cut off the water communication between Upper and Lower Canada. But it appears all will be amicably arranged, for the fort above-mentioned has not been taken possession of, nor has any dispute originated about Canadian boats descending the Long Sault.

We touched at Plattsburg, a place that excites 446 recollections of rather an unpleasant kind in the mind of an Englishman, as it was here that our flotilla was captured, and that the army under Sir George Prevost retreated disgracefully. I may indeed observe with regard to the first of these occurrences, that the flotilla was certainly not within cannon shot of the shore, and that even had Sir George been successful, he could not, as has been reported, have altered the fate of the Naval action. But of our second disaster there is but one opinion on both sides, viz. that had Sir George attacked the Americans boldly, he must have taken the place, and destroyed their troops, since he had so very much the advantage in point of numbers. I have conversed with several Americans, who were engaged: in the trifling skirmish, that took place previous to the retreat of the British forces, and they all assured me that they were quite astonished, at finding Sir George's Army had actually retreated. Never, perhaps, was there exhibited a greater instance of military incapacity and mismanagement, than in this expedition.

Landing at Burlington, a pretty little town situated in the State of Vermont, I remarked at once the cleanliness and cheerful appearance that distinguishes the villages of the New England States. Each house, with its large windows, and prettily painted Venetian

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Blinds, stands in the middle of a small garden, containing some flowering shrubs, and surrounded by a neat fence.

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Lake Champlain forms a beautiful prospect from Burlington, and very much resembles the Lake of Geneva, as seen from Lausanne. Indeed, as is the case with the Alps, the fine and picturesque chain of the Alleghanies, increases in size towards the upper extremity of the Lake, and decreases towards the lower extremity. I shall, however, destroy the sublimity of this Alpine comparison, if I remark, that on looking up Lake Champlain there is an island, which from its small size and conical shape has the appearance of a floating hay-cock.

The road leading from Burlington to Royalton, runs for about ten miles through an undulating and cultivated country. It then enters the lofty mountains of Vermont, which, with the exception of spots that have here and there been cleared, are covered with a thick forest of pine. In one place, the road passes through a most remarkable fissure in the mountains, called "the Gulf," which is so narrow, that we had but just room enough to pass, the trees, that have fixed themselves in the crevices of the rocks, brushing the top of the stage.

Montpelier, the capital of the state of Vermont, is a very thriving town, pleasantly situated at the bottom of a deep valley. The fences to the fields, throughout all this part of the country, are made of the stumps of large trees placed close together with their roots outwards. Formerly, when a settler cleared a piece of land, he was obliged, after cutting down the trees, to leave the stumps to rot 448 in the ground, which for a long time interrupted his ploughing; but now an ingenious machine has been invented, by which these stumps are torn up by the roots and converted into an excellent fence.

Near the little town of Hanover I crossed the river Connecticut, and entered the State of New Hampshire, the country still continuing mountainous, but intersected with fertile valleys.

CHAPTER XXV. THE SHAKERS.

Enfield is a small village entirely inhabited by that extraordinary sect denominated "Shakers." On entering it I was immediately struck with the remarkable neatness of the houses, farms, and fences; and the first impression was therefore very much in favour of the sect. The Shakers, like the Harmonites, are great manufacturers, and supply the neighbourhood with a quantity of necessary articles at a cheap rate. They apply machinery to every purpose that can be imagined, and carry this to such a length, as even to churn butter by the assistance of the wind. This however is a very simple and effectual way, and is worthy of being adopted more extensively; for a very light breeze is sufficient to put in motion the small sails attached to the churn.

The sect of Shakers was founded about the year 1768, by Ann Lee, the wife of an English blacksmith. She pretended to be inspired; called herself "Anne the Word;" and instituted a new mode of worship, "praising the Lord by dancing." Being prosecuted for riotous conduct, she and her followers were thrown into prison; a treatment which caused their emigration. They came to America in 1774, and settled in the State of New Hampshire. 2 G 450 Anne afterwards removed to the State of New York, where she began to prophecy, declaring that she was the second Christ, and that those who followed her should have their sins forgiven. Although she declaimed against all sexual intercourse whatsoever, which she held up as a mortal sin, yet she gained numerous proselytes, who have since made various settlements in different parts of the United States.

The principal persons in the sect, are the elders, father confessors, and saints. They enjoin confessions, penances, absolutions, &c. The members are frequently honoured by the miraculous interpositions of the Deity. Indeed they affirm that they do every thing by "a *gift*," that is, by an immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit. An account of the application of this very rational doctrine is thus given in the North American Review. "A youth of one of the Shaker settlements, of a cheerful happy spirit, was once asked, whether he had his

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liberty, and could do as he pleased. 'Certainly,' said the youth (repeating, doubtless, what all are taught to believe); we do whatsoever we have a *gift* to.' On being asked therefore, what he would do, if he wanted on a fine winter's morning to go down and skate on Enfield Pond, he replied, 'I should tell the Elder, that I had a *gift* to go down and skate.' Being further asked, whether the Elder would permit him; he answered, 'certainly, unless he had a *gift* that I should not go.' But if you 451 still told the Elder that you had a *gift* to go down and skate, and go you must? 'Why, then the Elder would tell me that I had a *lying gift*, and that he had a *gift* to beat me, if I did not go about my work immediately.'”*

* North American Review, Jan. 1823, Art. Shaker. This article, though in my opinion much too favourable to the Shakers, is well worth perusal.

The Shakers maintain, that they are the only true church; that all the rest of mankind will be damned; and that by “ *the Second Dispensation* ,” that is, by the appearance of Anne Lee, the Old Testament and the gospels, which were before necessary, are now useless. They have in consequence a bible of their own, called “Christ's Second Appearance;” a work which persons who are not of their sect would consider as a curious proof of the madness of superstition.

Every one, whether man or woman, who may join the society, must give up all worldly possessions to what they call the Church. In obedience to this religious duty, husbands leave their wives and families destitute, and occasion the greatest possible distress. Several States therefore have passed a law, obliging a man who may join the Shakers, to make some provision for his family.

Like all sects that pretend to the community of goods, the rule of equality is not strictly adhered to. On the contrary, the Elders, and chief men 2 G 2 452 or women, are much better off than the rest, live in better houses, and have better fare.

As persons in the full possession of their faculties are little disposed to embrace visionary doctrines, it may at first be a matter of surprise to the reader, how this continent sect is

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enabled to: keep up its numbers, and even to be rather on the increase. But the Shakers will receive children of any age, preferring those who are very young; and poor people, who have large families, are induced to send one or more children to the Shakers, knowing that they will be well clothed and fed gratis, and moreover taught some useful trade. So far the society is a good one; but these children are only just taught to read and write, are not allowed to read any book but the Shaker Bible, are made to look upon the Elders as demi-gods, and are constantly impressed with the charitable belief that the "world's people" (thus they designate all who are not Shakers) will inevitably go to everlasting punishment. They have indeed very little intercourse with "the world's people;" for all business is transacted by the Elders.

Those who know what influence superstition has upon the youthful mind, and how great an effort it requires, in those even who frequent the best society, to get rid of the prejudices in which they have been educated, may easily conceive what an influence this system, backed by the most profound ignorance, exerts upon the young proselytes. So strong indeed 453 is it, that few ever leave the sect who have joined it as children: and though nature will sometimes assert her rights, and brother Ebenezer run off with sister Susan, yet as soon as enjoyment has somewhat abated their desires, and when that fatal period the Honey Moon is about to terminate, the sinners will almost always return; and having confessed their sins, and undergone penance, are again received into the society.

I could easily enlarge on the subject of Shakerism, and could mention some of the horribly disgusting and indecent scenes, said to be practised in private by the members of this sect; but not to offend modesty, I refer all those who may be curious to know more about them, to a work lately published in New Hampshire, entitled "A Portraiture of Shakerism," by Mary M. Dyer.

This woman's husband joined the Shakers, and obliged her to do the same, by making over all his substance to his new brethren. She afterwards quitted the society, having suffered great cruelty and insult from them; and as she is now their enemy, and moreover

a Baptist, her own statements must be looked upon with a sceptical eye. I grant moreover that her book is ill written; but this does not destroy the authenticity of the numerous affidavits, made before magistrates, at different places and at different times, both by persons who have been themselves Shakers, and by others. These affidavits contain statements of depravity, folly, 454 and horrible brutality that are quite astounding, and exceed every thing laid to the charge of the monks of the darkest and most depraved period of the Middle Ages. So shocking indeed are they, as to be almost incredible; and yet many of the persons who have sworn to the truth of them, live near Enfield, and, from all the inquiries I could make, are respectable and trustworthy.

The Shaker Bible, or "Christ's Second Appearance," shows how prone the human mind is to receive any supernatural accounts; and how wisely all who relate them insist upon *faith*. Indeed I have heard it remarked (although of course only with reference to the Shakers), that when a man can once be persuaded, that the Great Creator of the Universe wishes him to believe what is incomprehensible and impossible, he might just as well be deprived of his reason altogether, and become a mere brute. At any rate, for my own part, although I am a friend to toleration, and do not wish to offend any person's religious principles, yet I cannot but think that it is rather a disgrace to the 19th century, for a sect to exist and flourish, which not only praises the Great Spirit by dancing, but even believes, that Anne Lee, the drunken profligate wife of an English blacksmith, is co-equal and co-eternal with the Deity.

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CHAPTER XXVI BOSTON—THE NEW ENGLANDERS

The road from Enfield passes through a very hilly and rough tract of country, which is however for the most part under cultivation. Salisbury is a beautiful little town, in which, as indeed in all those along the road, New England neatness and comfort are conspicuous. A little above Salisbury the Pemigewasset branch of the Merrimack, and the river Winnipiscogee meet together and form the Merrimack. It is a curious Net in natural

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history, that great numbers both of Shad and Salmon annually ascend the Merrimack, and that when they arrive at the junction of the two rivers above-mentioned, the Shad all go up the Winnipiseogee, and the Salmon up the Pemigewasset. There is no instance on record of Shad being taken in the Pemigewasset, however near the point of junction, or a Salmon in the Winnipiseogee. The people account for this fact, by saying, that the Winnipiseogee takes its rise in a lake, the water of which is warmed by the large surface exposed to the sun, while the Pemigewasset runs through deep glens, and is shrouded from the sun by the forests that cover its banks.

Concord, the capital of New Hampshire, is a pretty little town, and contains many excellent and 456 well built houses. The State House is a handsome building of white granite, and when I was there, presented a busy scene, as the legislature was in Session. I went into the gallery, but took no great interest in what was going on, as I could hear no speeches, the house being chiefly occupied in reading bills and acts.

Just at the entrance of Boston is Bunker's Hill, on which an individual has erected a small monument, to commemorate the celebrated battle fought there at the commencement of the revolutionary war.

Boston, the fourth city of the United States, in point of numbers, contains 42,536 inhabitants, and is like most of the commercial cities in the whole Republic, increasing very fast both in wealth and population. It has a more English appearance than any other of the American cities; for the streets are irregular, instead of being laid out at right angles. Most of the houses are built of brick, but those at present erecting are of a whitish granite, a very large quarry of which has lately been discovered in the neighbourhood. This granite splits so easily into long slabs, that I was told of a piece lately placed on the top of a wall as a coping-stone, which was sixteen feet long and about six inches thick. What is very remarkable too for this sort of stone, it was slightly elastic.

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I do not recollect ever having seen any modern columns of granite so finely worked as the large Ionic columns of the Hospital, a very handsome 457 public edifice which is built of this material, and which was nearly finished when I was there. The shafts and capitals were cut and polished by the prisoners confined in the State's prison; so that the labour of public offenders was very properly made subservient to public good.

The Athenaeum is the establishment that attracts the chief notice of strangers. It is a large building, containing an excellent library of 116,000 volumes, as well as a public reading-room, ornamented with handsome plaster casts of the most celebrated ancient statues. In this room are files of all the chief newspapers of the United States, as well as most of the important English and Foreign journals. All the American, and the best European reviews, magazines, and other periodical publications are to be found on the table.

The society of gentlemen, who first of all founded, and who have subsequently added to and embellished the Athenaeum, was incorporated in 1807, and a fund was raised by the sale of shares at 300 dollars each. Most of the splendid books, with the casts, cameos, &c. were donations. J.Q. Adams, the second President of the United States, lately presented the Athenaeum with his excellent library, collected during the course of a long public life both in Europe and America. Strangers have free admission to the rooms on being introduced by a proprietor: and I may here observe, from personal experience, that an introduction to such an establishment, 458 is one of the greatest favours that can be conferred upon an individual, who finds himself alone in a great city.

Boston is the most literary town in the United States, and may, be called the head-quarters of American learning. This is partly owing to its being in the neighbourhood of Harvard University, founded in 1638, which is by much the best place of public education in America; and partly to the character of the people of the New England States, who are all tolerably educated and are remarkably fond of books. Indeed all the best English works are reprinted immediately on their arrival in America; and a Transatlantic edition of many

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of Scott's novels has been in circulation thirty-six hours after the arrival of a copy from England.

Some idea may be formed of the prevailing taste for literature, from the fact that 2,000 copies of the *Edinburgh and Quarterly*, and 3,000 of the *North American Review* are printed at Boston every quarter. I should moreover be disposed to imagine, that at least twice as many school-books are printed annually in the United States as in England; and certainly a much greater number of newspapers. Books in general, and especially those published on the European continent, are much cheaper on their side of the Atlantic than on ours. I do not recollect seeing a single quarto; and indeed it is to be wished that there were fewer in England, 459 for publishing books in this shape only, is a great check to the circulation of knowledge.

Boston, though situated in the State of Massachusetts, may be termed the capital of New England. The States comprised under this denomination are Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut; almost all settled by men, who found they could not remain in England without being subject to persecution. They were chiefly Puritans; and though, entertaining certain religious opinions, which some persons may consider absurd, were nevertheless men of independent minds, and inflexible constancy

Mr Irving remarks, that “the sage cabinet of England had adopted a certain national creed, a kind of public walk of faith, or rather religious turnpike, in which every loyal subject was directed to travel to Zion—taking care to pay the *toll-gatherers* by the way. Albeit, a certain shrewd race of men, being very much given to indulge their own opinions on all manner of subjects (a propensity exceedingly offensive to your free governments of Europe), did most presumptuously dare to think for themselves in matters of religion, exercising what they considered a natural and unextinguishable right—the liberty of conscience.”*

* Knickerbocker's New York

These men, finding themselves deprived of this natural right, and persecuted at home for endeavouring

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to exercise it, determined to leave their country, and endure all the difficulties and dangers incurred by crossing the Atlantic and settling in a strange land, in order that they might worship the Almighty in the way they thought most agreeable to Him. The government and laws under the Puritans, partook largely of their religious prejudices. They at first made the "law of God," or the old Jewish code, absolute in their new country; and even afterwards, when they had time to form a more useful and sensible code, many of the laws were very curious and remarkable. The following is a transcript of the Primitive Judicial Code, (which existed in the State of Connecticut, during the time of the first Settlers, and their immediate Descendants,) commonly called "The Blue-Laws of Connecticut."

"1. The Governor and Magistrates, convened in General Assembly, are the supreme power, under GOD, of this independent dominion.

2. From the determination of the Assembly no appeal shall be made.

3. The Governor is amenable to the voice of the people.

4. The Governor shall have only a single vote in determining any question, except a casting vote when the Assembly may be equally divided.

5. The Assembly of the people shall not be dismissed by the Governor, but shall dismiss itself.

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6. Conspiracy against the dominion shall be punished with *Death*.

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7. Whoever says, 'there is a power holding jurisdiction over and above this dominion,' shall be punished with *Death*, and loss of property.
 8. Whoever attempts to change or overturn this dominion, shall suffer *Death*.
 9. The Judges shall ' determine controversies without a jury.
 10. No one shall be a freeman, or give a vote, unless he be converted, or a member in free communion of one of the churches allowed in this dominion.
 11. No one shall hold any office who is not *sound in the faith*, and faithful to this dominion; and whoever gives a vote to such a person shall pay a fine of one pound.—For the second offence, he shall be disfranchised.
 12. No Quaker, or dissenter from the established worship of this dominion, shall be allowed to give a vote for the election of magistrates, or any officer.
 13. No food or lodging shall be afforded to a Quaker, Adamite, or other heretic.
 14. If any person turns quaker, he shall be banished, and not suffered to return, on pain of *Death*.
 15. No Priest shall abide in this dominion. He shall be banished, and suffer *Death* on his return. Priests may be seized by any one, without a warrant.
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16. No one shall cross a river but with an authorized ferryman.
 17. No one shall run of a Sabbath-day, or walk in his garden, or elsewhere, except reverently to and from church.

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18. No one shall travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep houses, cut hair, or shave, on the Sabbath-day.

19. No woman shall kiss her child on Sabbath or fasting day.

20. A person accused of trespass in the night, shall be judged guilty, unless he clear himself by his oath.

21. When it appears that an accomplice has confederates, and he refuses to discover them, he may be *Racked*.

22. No one shall buy or sell lands without the permission of the select men.

23. A drunkard shall have a master appointed by the select men, who is to debar him the privilege of buying or selling.

24. Whoever publishes a lie to the prejudice of his neighbour, shall sit in the stocks, or be whipped fifteen stripes.

25. No *Minister* shall keep a *school*. 26. Man stealers shall suffer *Death*.

27. Whoever wears clothes trimmed with silver or bone lace above two shillings a yard, shall be presented by the grand jurors; and the select men 463 shall tax the offender at the rate of three hundred pound estate.

28. A *debtor in prison*, swearing he has no estate, shall be let out and *sold* to make satisfaction

29. Whoever sets fire to the woods, and it burns a house, shall suffer *Death*—and persons *suspected* of the crime shall be imprisoned without the benefit of bail.

30. Whoever brings cards or dice into this dominion shall pay a fine of five pounds.

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31. No one shall read common prayer, keep christmas, or saints day, make minced pies, dance play cards, or play on any instrument of music, except the drum, the trumpet, and the jews-harp.

32. When parents refuse their children suitable marriages, the magistrates shall determine the point.

33. The select men, on finding children ignorant, may take them away from their parents, and put them into better hands, at the expense of the parents.

34. A man that strikes his wife shall pay a fine of ten pounds;—a woman that strikes her husband shall be punished as the court directs.

35. A wife shall be deemed good evidence against her husband.

36. No man shall court a maid without first obtaining the consent of her parents—five pounds penalty for the first offence—ten for the second,— 464 and for the third, imprisonment during the pleasure of the court.

37. Married persons shall live together or be imprisoned.

38. Every male shall have his hair cut round according to a cap.”

Some remains of the “Blue Laws” are still to be found in the New England States. Thus on going through New Hampshire, I was obliged to halt on the Sabbath, it being contrary to law for any horseman or vehicle, with the exception of the United States mail, to travel on that day.

Nothing can well create more astonishment, than that the same men who fled from England to avoid persecution, should have become, in their turn, the most violent and intolerant persecutors, so dangerous it is to entrust authority to any religious sect. “Having served a regular apprenticeship in the school of persecution, it behoved them to show

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that they liad become proficient in the art. They accordingly employed their leisure hours in banishing, scourging, or hanging, divers heretical papists, quakers, and anabaptists, for daring to abuse the *Liberty of Conscience*, which they now clearly proved to imply nothing more, than that every man should think as he pleased in matters of religion — *provided* he thought *right* , for otherwise it would be giving a latitude to damnable heresies. Now, as they, the majority, were perfectly convinced, that 465 they alone thought right, it consequently followed, that whoever thought different from them, thought wrong —and whoever thought wrong, and obstinately persisted in not being convinced and converted, was a flagrant violator of the inestimable Liberty of conscience, and a corrupt and infectious member of the body politic, and deserved to be lopped off, and cast into the fire”*

* Knickerbocker's New York, Book 3, cap. vi.

The present inhabitants of New England are the most intelligent, active, and enterprising men in the United States; and a man is looked upon as a prodigy who cannot read and write. It is amusing to see what a jealousy exists between the New Englanders and the inhabitants of the rest of the Union. Nothing could offend a southern or western American more than being a called a Yankee; while a New Englander would be equally offended at being called a Buckskin.

The only good derivation of the word Yankee is given by Knickerbocker, who, after noticing the extraordinary volubility of tongue, with which the first settlers were gifted says: “the simple aborigines of the land for awhile contemplated these strange folk in utter astonishment; but discovering that they wielded harmless, though noisy weapons, and were a lively, ingenious, and good humoured race of men, they became very friendly and sociable, and gave them the name of *Yanokies* , which in the Mais-Tchusaeg (or Massachusetts) 2 H 466 language, signifies “silent men”—a waggish appellation, since shortened into the familiar epithet of Yankees, which they retain unto the present day.”*

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* Knickerbocker's New York, Book 3.

The enterprise of the Yankees is proverbial. Many of the lower class drive into the southern and western States, small waggons laden with wooden clocks, looking-glasses, &c.; and as some of these pedlars are great rogues, or at least have the character of being such, numerous good stories are told of the tricks played off by them, such as selling wooden nutmegs, wooden cucumber seeds. &c. The western and southern Americans assign this reason for pretending to undervalue all the New Englanders, though the real reason of their dislike is their knowledge of the vast superiority of their rivals, in industry, education and morality.

Nothing is more common in New England, than for a farmer to cut down the trees on his land, build a small schooner in the nearest river, freight it with the produce of his industry, and assisted only by one or two of his sons, and perhaps one seaman, to set off with his little cargo for New Orleans or the West Indies. The people who navigate these vessels, are often unable to take any observations, but run down the longitude, and trust to meeting some ship in which the sailors are more learned than themselves. Accordingly, as soon as they see a vessel, they come along side, and commence their inquiries with "Hallo, Mister, 467 what's the latitude? &c." When they have obtained the requisite information, they shout out a few thanks, and are off again.

No kind of produce or commodity escapes the speculation of the New Englanders. For instance, small quick sailing schooners are freighted with ice for the West Indies. Just on entering the harbour, the master makes known his cargo by signal, and the moment he lands, disposes of the whole by auction or private sale. He then, returns home with a cargo of turtle, pine-apples, melons, &c., articles esteemed luxuries in Great Britain, but in consequence of this trade quite common in New England. I bought a very large pine-apple at Boston for ten cents, (about five-pence sterling,) and I was told that they are often to be had much cheaper. Before even the leaves begin to appear in the northern States, the inhabitants are supplied with plenty of fruit, green peas, &c., from the West Indies and

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the Southern States. I am surprised none of these Yankee schooners have paid us a visit; as the time required for a voyage from the West Indies to Boston, is not much less than to England, particularly if the prevalence of the westerly winds be taken into consideration. I should think few cargoes would sell better at the port of London, than one of turtles and pine-apples. At any rate they have sometimes carried out far more extraordinary cargoes; for the people of Charleston, South Carolina, were 2 H 2 468 made very angry, when the Yellow fever was raging there, by the arrival of some Yankee schooners, laden with the nests of wooden coffins, which had been sent out upon speculation for the reception of the sick Carolinians.

The new Englanders are the best seamen in the United States, and perhaps in the world. The sea indeed appears to be their element, and all the towns in the coast are actively engaged in commerce of different kinds. Many of their vessels go every year on whaling expeditions into the Pacific. They think nothing of a voyage round Cape Horn, and often sail up the North West coast even to Behring's Strait.

Nantucket, a small island on the coast of Massachusetts, is inhabited entirely by persons engaged in the Whale fishery, some of whom have amassed considerable wealth. It is said that at their balls, no one can ask a young woman to dance, who has not, with his own hand, driven the harpoon into a whale.

"Pass by the other parts, and look at the manner in which the people of New England have of late carried on the whale fishery. Whilst we follow them among the tumbling mountains, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson's bay and Davis's Straits, whilst we are looking for them beneath the Arctic circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold, that they are at the 469 antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the south. Falkland Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and resting-place in the progress of their victorious industry. Nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them than the accumulated winter of the poles. We know that while some of them draw

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the line and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude, and pursue their gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea that is not vexed by their fisheries; no climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hard industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people—a people who are still as it were in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood.”*

* Burke's speech on conciliation with America.

This splendid eulogium on the enterprise of the New Englanders is not undeserved; and paints in glowing colours that activity, which since the time of Burke has continued to increase and which so strongly characterises the people of those States.

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CHAPTER XXVII. EDUCATION.

There is nothing that is more worthy that attention of a traveller than the system of education pursued in the whole of the United States, and particularly in New England. Classical learning may perhaps be rather too much neglected, though this is much better than the exclusive attention that is paid to it in the public Schools of England; for I am sure I do not exaggerate, when I say, that out of ten boys leaving Eton, not more than one, in my time, could solve the simplest question in the rule of three, and many not even a sum in compound multiplication.

Dr. Franklin has very properly observed, that classical learning should be taught when the mind is more mature, and when this learning can be obtained at half the labour usually bestowed upon it. Our English system is a remnant of the venerable old Monkish Institutions: for when the English supposed that Latin was the only language which the Almighty understood, it was of course proper for every good Christian to be able at least to read it. But times have altered strangely; “nous avons changé tout cela;” and the Deity

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condescends now to pay just as much attention to our prayers as ever, although we may address him in the unclassical dialects of Yorkshire or Somerset.

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It would be amusing to trace the orthodox system of education which is inflicted upon our English youth. No sooner does the boy after much labour and many tears acquire a little knowledge of Latin, than he is set down invitâ Minervâ to write verses in that language. "Poeta nascitur, non fit;" yet a boy incapable of writing Latin verses, is looked down upon with the utmost contempt, by the erudite masters and the more happily gifted pupils. Indeed the writing nonsense verses, which precedes that of writing others erroneously called sense, is no doubt a highly intellectual employment, and amply deserving a year's labour—the time usually devoted to it! But after all, what is produced by these young "verse smiths and bard mechanics?" A few copies of tolerable verses are indeed given to the world in the Musæ Etonenses; but it is unfair to judge of the produce and cultivation of a whole farm, from a few flowers picked up in the corner of one of the fields.

Though in the United States the number of schools of the higher order is comparatively few, and though the system pursued is by no means perfect, yet every day a rapid improvement is taking place. The Masters are not, as in England, bigoted to any particular system, but are anxious to adopt any obvious improvements, in order that their method of education may correspond with the advance of knowledge, and with the wants of an enlightened people.

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But Schools for the common people are of greater importance than those for the rich; and hence the Americans, and the New Englanders in particular are worthy of the highest admiration. I took some pains to obtain information on this subject; and should have been tempted to have given my own observations in my own words, had I not seen an article in a late number of the North American Review, that contains information which I can corroborate from my own inquiries. I shall therefore make some copious extracts from it,

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being well aware that the learned reviewer has put the subject in a much stronger and clearer light than I could.

‘In the system of laws of the colony of New haven (now part of Connecticut), published in the year 1656, the following are the provisions for children's education.’

“It is ordered that the deputies for the particular court in each plantation within this jurisdiction, for the time being, or, where there are no such deputies, the constable, or other officers in public trust, shall from time to time have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbours within the limits of the said plantation: that all parents and masters do duly endeavour, either by their own ability and labour, or by improving such schoolmaster or other helps and means as the plantation doth afford, or the family may conveniently provide; that all their children and apprentices, as they grow capable, may through God's blessing obtain at least so much learning as to be able to read the Scriptures and other good and profitable printed books in the English tongue, being their native language,” &c. Parents and Masters, found to neglect this duty, were on the first complaint, to be fined ten shillings; on the second complaint, three months after the first, twenty shillings, on the third complaint, they were to be fined still higher, or their children or apprentices to be taken from them, and put under the care of others, males till twenty-one, and females till eighteen years of age.

‘In the Colony of Connecticut, the laws respecting schools seem not to have been materially different. In the laws of that colony, published in the year 1672, eight years after the Union of Connecticut and New Haven, there is a provision on the subject of education, very similar in its language to that we have just copied from the first New Haven code. It is there ordered, that, “the select men of every town in their several precincts and quarters, shall have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbours, to the end that none of them shall suffer so much barbarism in any of their families, as not to endeavour, by themselves or others, to teach their children and apprentices so much learning, as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue,” &c. The penalty for the neglect was twenty shillings.

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In the same code it is ordered, that every town, containing fifty householders, shall forthwith appoint one, within their town, to teach 474 all such as shall resort to him, to write and read whose wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, as the major part of those who order the prudentials of the town shall appoint," &c. It is further provided, "that in every county town, there shall be set up and kept a grammar-school, for the use of the county, the master thereof being able to instruct youths so far, as they may be fitted for College."

'In 1677, to render the existing law respecting schools more effectual, it was enacted, "that every town by the same law ordered to keep a school, that shall neglect the same above three months in the year, shall forfeit five pounds for every defect, and the said fine shall be paid towards the maintenance of the Latin school in their county; all breaches of this law to be taken notice of, and presented by the Grand Jury at every County Court." The following year the number of families in a town, obliged to maintain a public school, was reduced from fifty to thirty.

'It appears that notwithstanding the several penalties for neglect of maintaining schools, the laws on this subject were not universally executed; as in the year 1690, we find an additional statute, which, after reciting in the preamble that there were still "persons unable to read the English tongue, and thereby incapable to read the holy word of God, or the good laws of the colony," 475 among other provisions, contains the following; "that the grand jurymen, in each town, do once a year, at least, visit each family they suspect to neglect this order [to teach their children and servants 'to read distinctly the English tongue'], and satisfy themselves whether all children under age, and servants in such suspected families, can read the English tongue, or be in a good procedure to learn the same or not; and if they find any such children or servants not taught, as their years are capable of, they shall return the names of the parents or masters of said children or servants, to the next county court," &c. The penalty is twenty shillings" for each child or servant whose teaching is or shall be neglected contrary to this order."

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'In the year 1700, a law was passed, which placed the common schools of Connecticut on the foundation where they continued, with little variation, till the establishment of the present fund. It was then required, that in every town, having seventy or more householders, a constant school should be kept, and when there were less than seventy, a school should be kept half the year. It was likewise enacted, that the inhabitants of every town should pay forty shillings on every thousand pounds of taxable property, estimated according to a rule prescribed by the legislature in their general system of taxation, for the support of the schoolmaster, to be collected with the public or county tax; and if any town failed to provide a schoolmaster according 476 to law, this sum was to be collected and paid to the county treasury, as a fine upon such negligent town. Where this fund was insufficient to support the school, the deficiency was to be made up, one-half by the inhabitants of the town, and the other half by the parents or masters of the children. By a subsequent law, towns and ecclesiastical societies were empowered to divide themselves into district, and to alter the same; and each district was entitled to its proportion of the public money, for the support of its school.

'From what is known of the state of the schools, as well as from universal tradition, it appears that the laws were now rigidly executed; a school was brought to every man's door; the poor, and even the slave, were always Within the reach of instruction; and hence, for more than a century, in Connecticut, a native of mature age, who in the language of the old statutes, "was unable to read the English tongue," has been looked on as a prodigy.

'It is not therefore surprising, in this state of public sentiment in Connecticut, that whatever funds have been at any time at the disposal of the legislature, have been, with few and inconsiderable exceptions, appropriated to the support of common schools.

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'In the year 1733 the avails of the sale of seven new townships in the western part of the colony were divided among the towns; the interest to be applied to the support of common schools for even.

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In the year 1765 certain sums of money, due for excise on goods, were divided in the same manner. But what laid the foundation of the present Connecticut school fund (as it now exists) was money received for lands belonging to that State in the north-western path of the present State of Ohio. The sale of these lands was effected in the year 1795 for 1,200,000 dollars. The interest of this fund, after much debate in the legislature, where several projects of somewhat different kinds were very amply discussed, and after great popular excitement, was finally appropriated to the favourite object, the support of common schools; and so decided has public opinion continued on this subject, that the appropriation, as we observe by an article in the new Constitution of Connecticut, is now made imperative on the legislature. The amount of the school fund is now considerably greater than in the year 1795, when it was first established. In the report of the Commissioner in May 1821, the property of the fund is stated in its gross amount at 1,858,074 dollars, 33 cents.

From the report of the commissioner of this fund to the legislature of Connecticut, in May last, the title of which report stands at the head of this article, it appears that the amount of dividends to common schools the preceding year, that is, in October 1821, and March 1822, was no less a sum than 67,791 dollars, 20 cents. This fund, which enables the State to expend more than 60,000 dollars a year ⁴⁷⁸ on schools, will soon afford 90,000 or 100,000 dollars a year for the same object. In year 1820 a rule of distribution was adopted, by which the interest of the school fund is now divided among the several districts, according to the number of children in each, between the ages of four and sixteen, and provision was made for an annual enumeration. This rule is the one in force at present.

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'As to the manner in which the common schools of Connecticut are managed, the following particulars are all in which our readers can be supposed to take much interest. All the inhabitants living within the limits of ecclesiastical societies, incorporated by law, constitute school societies, elect officers build school houses, establish school district, appoint a committee of one for each district, whose duty it is to manage the concerns of the district, and provide an instructor for the school with the assent of the district, and the approbation of the visitors. The visitors are appointed by each school society, whose @ duty it is to examine instructors, displace such as are incompetent, visit the schools twice at least during each season for schooling; and they may require of the master such exercises of the youth, as will show their proficiency in learning. No person can keep a school until he has been examined and approved by the visitors.

'We have not been able to ascertain with the exactness we could wish, the number of district 479 schools in Connecticut. Dr. Trumbull, in the second volume of his history of that State published in 1818, states the number at 1580, "according to the best collection he had been able to obtain." He adds, that, in some of them, there are a hundred scholars or more, and in others not more than twenty. He supposes, that, "on all average, they will amount to fifty-five or fifty-six." From the inquiries we have made, we are satisfied that this statement is not far from the truth.'

The reviewers after a most excellent and elaborate account of the schools, and the means by which part of the large sum annually divided might be advantageously applied to supporting schools of a higher order, conclude with the following admirable remarks. 'In looking back upon the statements we have thus presented to our readers, one or two remarks are forced upon us. The first regards the noble testimony, borne to the characters of the Fathers of Connecticut, by the laws for the support of schools. To feel the strength of this testimony, we have but to compare their condition with these their efforts; to see them, a handful of men, scattered in a few hamlets through the native wilderness, exposed to the most harassing of public dangers, the daily and nightly dread of a savage foe, and

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yet enacting laws which should send the Grand Jury twice a year into every family, to see that its children, aye, its apprentices and servants, 'could read the English tongue.' These are the men to 480 whom our brethren beyond the sea courteously allude, when they say that 'the Adam and Eve of America came from Newgate.' How does their conduct and policy contrast with that of the richest and most powerful nation of the present day! What an apparition would it not be at the English Assizes—a true bill found by the grand jury against the proprietor of a cotton factory in Manchester, for that he had neglected to afford his apprentices 'at least so much learning as should enable them to read the Scriptures, and other good and profitable printed books in the English tongue.' such a bill would transform even Mr. Brougham into *Amicus Curiae*; and do more to promote the education of the commonalty of England, than all the Bells and Lancasters have done, and all their monitors.'*

* North American Review, April 1823. Art. XXIV.

These are some of the noble institutions of the Americans for the diffusion of universal instruction. Every State, though it has not made the same exertion as Connecticut, is nevertheless fully aware of the importance of them subject. The new States have made immense appropriation of land, which is all they can do at present. These lands, though as yet of no great value, will eventually be able to support the schools and colleges to the full know, that the maintenance of their liberties 481 greatly depends upon having an enlightened population, who are capable of appreciating the advantages they enjoy; for despotism is more strongly supported by ignorance, than by armed thousands. 2 I

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CHAPTER XXVIII. RELIGION.

The law of the United States says: 'All men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences. No man shall be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry,

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against his consent. No human authority ought in any case whatever to control or interfere with the rights of conscience—and no preference shall ever be given by law to any religious societies, or modes of worship.’

This law ought to be written in letters of gold on a pillar of marble. It should be recollected that the inhabitants of the United States were the first, and are still the only people, who have thus had the wisdom and courage to proclaim the legal equality of all religions.

Some of the States did not at first adopt so complete a system of toleration; but they have now all agreed to it. The State of Virginia formerly granted certain privileges to those professing the faith of the Church of England; and it was in order to suppress this injustice, that Jefferson wrote his famous paper upon Religious Toleration.

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“Our rulers,” says he, “can have authority only over such natural rights as we have submitted to them. The Rights of Conscience we never submitted, we could not submit. We are answerable for them to our God. The legitimate powers of Government extend to such acts only as are injurious to others; but it does me no injury for my neighbour to say, there are twenty Gods, or no God Got]. It neither picks my pocket, nor breaks my leg. If it be said, his testimony in a court of justice cannot be relied on, reject it then, and be the stigma upon him. Constraint may make him worse, by making him a hypocrite; but it will never make him a truer man. It may fix him obstinately in his errors, but will not cure them.

“Reason and free Inquiry are the only effectual agents against Error. Give a loose to them, and they will support the true Religion, by bringing every false one to their tribunal, and to the test of investigation. They are the natural enemies of Error, and of Error only. Had not the Roman Government permitted free Inquiry, Christianity could never have been introduced. Had not free Inquiry been indulged at the æra of the Reformation, the corruptions of Christianity could not have been purged away. If it be constrained now, the

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present purged away. If it be constrained now, the present corruptions will be protected, and new ones encouraged.

“Were the Government to prescribe to us our medicine and diet, our body would be in such 2 | 2 484 keeping, as our souls are now. Thus in France, the emetic was once forbidden as a medicine, and the potatoe as an' an, article of food. Government is just as infallible too, when it fixes systems in physics. Galileo was sent to the inquisition for affirming that the earth was a sphere; the Government had declared it to be as flat as a trencher, and Galileo was obliged to abjure his error. This error at length prevailed, the earth became a globe, and Descartes declared it was whirled round its axis by a vortex. The Government was wise enough to see that this was no question of civil jurisdiction, or we should all have been involved by authority in vortices. The vortices have been exploded, and the Newtonian principle of gravitation is now more firmly established on the basis of Reason, than it would be, if the Government were to step in, and make it an article of necessary faith. Reason and Experiment have been indulged, and Error has fled before them. It is Error alone which needs the support of Government. Truth can stand by itself.

“Subject opinion to coercion, and whom will you make your Inquisitors? Fallible Men: men governed by bad passions, by private as well as public reasons. And why subject it to coercion? To produce uniformity. But is uniformity desireable? No more than of face or stature. Introduce the bed of Procrustes then; and as there is danger that the large men may beat the small, 485 make us all of a size, by lopping the former and stretching the latter.

“Difference of opinion is advantageous in Religion. The several sects perform the office of a “*censor morum*” over each other. Is uniformity attainable? Millions of innocent men, women, and children, since the introduction of Christianity, have been burnt, tortured, fined, and imprisoned; and yet we have not advanced one inch towards uniformity. What has been the effect of coercion? To make one half the world fools, and the other half hypocrites; to support roguery and error all over the earth.

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“Let us reflect that it is inhabited by a thousand millions of people; that these profess probably a thousand different systems of religion; that ours is but one of that thousand; that if there be but one right, and ours that one, we should wish to see the 999 wandering sects gathered into the fold of truth. But against such a majority, we cannot effect this by force. Reason and persuasion are the only practicable instruments. To make way for these, free inquiry must be indulged; and how can we wish others to indulge it, when we refuse it ourselves?”*

* Notes on Virginia.

In consequence of this paper the Virginians altered their law. “We are well aware,” says the Toleration Act, “that Almighty God has made 486 the mind, of man free;—all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burdens, or by civil incapacities, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness;—that the impious presumption of legislators and rulers, civil as well as, ecclesiastical, who being themselves but fallible men have assumed, dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions as the only true and infallible, and as such endeavouring to impose them on others, hath established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the earth and through all time;—that to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions he disbelieves, is sinful and tyrannical;—that our civil rights have no dependance on our religious opinions, more than our opinions on physics, or geometry;—and that therefore the proscribing any citizen, as unworthy the public confidence, by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust and emolument, unless he profess, or renounce, this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which in common with his fellow citizens he has a natural right.”

After enacting the most complete religious freedom, the act concludes with this admirable observation:—“And though we well know that this assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purposes, of legislation only, has no power to restrain 487 the acts of succeeding assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own; and that therefore to declare this

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act irrevocable, would be of no effect in law; yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the Rights hereby asserted, are the natural Rights of Mankind, and that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present, or to narrow its operation, such act will be an infringement of Natural Right.”*

* From the Virginian act for the freedom of religious worship, passed in 1786.

Maryland was the last to adopt Religious Equality; but this State, yielding to public opinion, has now abolished the acts, that placed under certain civil incapacities a race of men, who have for ages been much persecuted and calumniated. The Jews, instead of being respected for the firmness, with which, even under the most horrible persecutions, they have adhered to the faith of their forefathers, have been oppressed, and almost placed out of the pale of the law, in nearly every country of Europe. I recollect when at school at Eton, asking an old Jew who sold oranges, why he had never embraced Christianity; and his reply made a great impression on me, and induced me to look upon the Jews with much more respect than before. “I despise,” said he, “any man who quits the faith of his fathers, merely because it is abused by the ignorant and bigoted.”

The United States have been the first to throw off the prejudices entertained against this unhappy people, and to admit them to all the Rights enjoyed by their fellow-citizens. Thus Mr. M. Noah of New York, gentleman of great abilities, was a year or two ago elected high sheriff of that city, in spite of the opposition some fanatics, who opposed him from his being a Jew. I am surprised that all who profess the Hebrew faith do not emigrate to the United States, as they would there not only be free from civil incapacities, (particularly as regards landed property,) but would even find themselves eligible to the highest offices in the Republic.

Every sect, of which there are probably as many in the United States as there are in Great Britain, supports its own ministers, and regulates its own ecclesiastical concerns. The Episcopalians and the Catholics have Bishops, and are, I believe, the only sects that

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support such dignitaries. When any set of men professing a particular creed are in want of a church, they build one by subscription, and give the profits, arising from the pews or seats, to the clergyman they may appoint. These profits, in addition to a certain fixed salary, form the income of the clergyman, who in general finds this sufficient to live upon, and often enough to support him even in affluence.

The two sects that are the most enlightened and liberal are the Episcopalians and the Unitarians, and both are in consequence gaining ground. The 489 Episcopalians have left out some of the more mysterious of our thirty-nine articles; and have expunged from their prayer books, that most incomprehensible of all orthodox compositions, the Athanasian Creed.

Mr. Duncan, who has lately published his travels in the United States (a book which from the number of skeletons of sermons given in it, might be called a preaching tour), has thought fit to speak ill of the Episcopalians. It appears that he heard a worthy clergyman of that church say when preaching: "I believe that all who sincerely desire to do the will of God, will be received by him; and I should shrink with horror, from consigning Jews, Arians, and Socinians, to indiscriminate perdition."*

* Duncan's Travels, vol. ii. page 364.

Mr. Duncan piously sneers at this friend of toleration; and tells us, that by holding such opinions, the Episcopalians show, that it is not Christianity which they are anxious to extend, but merely their own church. In the name of the Episcopalians, I beg leave to thank the liberal Mr. Duncan for his very charitable insinuation.

The Roman Catholics are not very numerous in the United States; and the following anecdote (which I report as it was related to me by a gentleman) may tend to prove, that some persons among them are disposed to be wiser, than in the good old times.

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Mr. Hogan, the officiating priest in the Catholic cathedral at Philadelphia, gave great offence to the zealous, by leaving out some of the more absurd parts of their Ritual. The Bishops, finding that he was obstinate in his error, fulminated against him the sentence of excommunication. This sentence, which cursed every individual member in Mr. Hogan's body, from the hair of his head down to his toe-nails, was printed in most of the journals of the day, in one of which I read it. Mr. Hogan, however, laid the whole case before his congregation, who desired him to set at nought the aforesaid sentence. Being supported by the majority of the subscribers who had built the cathedral, Mr. Hogan continued to officiate. The Catholic Bishops then applied to the Pope, who also excommunicated Mr. Hogan; and some fanatics, several of whom were Irishmen, animated by this sacred diploma, seized upon the Cathedral, and prevented Mr. Hogan from officiating. Upon this, the whole affair was laid before the judicial court of the State of Pennsylvania, which, in conformity with the law of the United States, decided that the people who built the Cathedral, had a right, not only to appoint their own officiating priest, but even if they pleased to change their place of worship, one day into a mosque, and the next day into a barn, or, in other words, to do what they liked with it." All this made a great noise at the time: 491 and just before I left the United States, I was informed that the Grand Jury of Philadelphia had presented the Pope as a nuisance, for having stirred up contention among the peaceable inhabitants of their city, and for having interfered in the spiritual concerns of the United States. The reader may imagine the ridicule which this occasioned. The sect which has increased faster than any other is that of the Unitarians, who now constitute a large majority of the inhabitants of Boston. Indeed all the New England States, which were once the strong holds of the presbyterians and puritans, are now rapidly lapsing into that heresy.

In the Western States, however, there are still not only many puritans, who would have been worthy members of the Parliament, delicately yeelped the Rump; but there are also many Presbyterians, who might have even been fit associates for the mild and amiable Balfour of Burley.

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I recollect once, in Kentucky, passing an evening at the house of a good blue-stocking presbyterian, who talked the whole time about predestination, grace, the five points, &c., and who also proved to me in the clearest manner possible, from several printed works on the subject, that the Millennium, will commence in the year 1834.

Beyond the Alleghanies, Methodism exists in all its glory. There, at periodical seasons, the elect march into the woods, and hold what are called Camp Meetings, every body taking a quantity of 492 provision, and many families transporting themselves in small waggons, under which they can sleep. One of these meetings, at which many thousands are often assembled, and which commonly last for several days, fills the spectator with the utmost alarm and wonder.

An Indian war-dance is a bagatelle to it, and I verily believe that it exceeds the wildest orgies of the Bacchanalians or the Corybantes.

Some might think, that in the extraordinary fervour of religious enthusiasm, and in the constant triumph, as it were, of the Spirit, the frequenters of Camp Meetings would entirely lay aside the lusts of the flesh: but this is not the case. The Devil it would seem has power even over these devout men; for at the expiration of nine months, the population of the State is surprisingly, though illegitimately, increased.

But for fear I should be suspected of exaggeration, though I were to relate only what I myself have seen at a Camp Meeting, I shall extract the following account from the American Methodist Magazine for 1819, and merely premise, that the picture which the writer has drawn of the orgies of his own sect, gives a very faint idea of the original.

“* At first appearance, these meetings exhibited nothing to the spectator unacquainted with them,

* American Methodist Magazine, for 1819, page 224.

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493 but a scene of confusion, such as could scarcely be put into human language. They were generally opened with a sermon; at the close of which, there would be an universal outcry, some bursting forth into loud ejaculations of prayer, or thanksgiving for the truth; others breaking out into emphatical sentences of exhortation; others flying to their careless friends, with tears of compassion, beseeching them to turn to the Lord; some struck with terror, and hastening through the crowd to make their escape, or pulling away their relations; others trembling, weeping, crying out for the Lord Jesus to have mercy upon them, fainting, and swooning away, till every appearance of life was gone, and the extremities of the body assumed the coldness of death; others surrounding them with melodious songs, or fervent prayers for their happy conversion; others collected into circles round this variegated scene, contending with arguments, for and against the Work. This scene frequently continued with out intermission for days and nights together.

“At these meetings many circumstances transpired well worth relating, and very interesting; but it would overleap our limits to narrate them. One at this time must suffice. At Indian Creek, a boy, from appearance about twelve years of age, retired from the stand in, time of preaching, under a very extraordinary impression; and having mounted a log at some distance, and raising his voice in a very affecting manner, he attracted the main body of the 494 people in a very few minutes. With tears streaming from his eyes, he cried aloud to the wicked, warning them of their danger, denouncing their certain doom if they persisted in their sins, expressing love to their souls, and desire that they would turn to the Lord, and be saved. He was held up by two men; and spoke for about an hour with that convincing eloquence that could be inspired only from above. When his strength seemed quite exhausted, and language failed to describe the feelings of his soul, he raised his hand, and dropping his handkerchief wet with sweat from his little face, cried out, ‘Thus, oh sinner, shall you drop into hell, unless you forsake your sins and turn to the Lord!’ At that moment some fell, like those who are shot in battle, and the Work spread in a manner that human language cannot describe.”

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“* At one of these meetings (at Cabin Creek) the scene was awful beyond description. Few, if any, escaped without being affected. Such as tried, to run from it were frequently struck on the way; or impelled, by some alarming signal, to return. No circumstance at this meeting appeared more striking, than the great numbers that fell on the third night; and to prevent their being trodden under foot by the multitude, they were collected together, and laid out in order on two squares of

* Continued at page 272 of the same work.

495 the meeting-house, till a considerable part of the floor was covered.

“But the great meeting at Caneridge exceeded all. The number that fell at this meeting was reckoned at about three thousand, among whom were several *Presbyterian* ministers, who according to their own confession, had hitherto possessed only a speculative knowledge of religion. One of the most zealous and active Presbyterian ministers, estimated the number collected on the ground at twenty thousand souls. At this meeting, as well as at all others, wherever the Work broke out, the Methodists appeared to be more active and more in their element, than any other people. Indeed when it first appeared in most of the congregations, other ministers were so alarmed, not knowing what to make of it, that they would have deserted it, and their own meetings too had they not been encouraged by the Methodists. But they soon joined, and moved forward cordially in the Work. Having been thus inured and prepared, this great meeting brought on a general engagement. It was necessary that such a concourse should be scattered over a considerable extent of ground; of course there were several congregations formed in different parts of the encampment, for preaching and other religious exercises. Nor were they at a loss for pulpits: stumps, logs, or tops of trees, served as temporary stands from Which to dispense the word of life. At night the whole scene was awfully 496 sublime. The ranges of tents, the fires reflecting light amidst the branches, of the towering trees; the candles and lamps illuminating the encampment; hundreds moving to and fro, with lights or torches, like Gideon's army; the preaching, praying, shouting, all heard at once, rushing from different

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parts of the ground, like the sound of many waters, was enough to swallow up all the powers of contemplation. Sinners falling, shrieks and cries for mercy, awakened in the mind a lively apprehension of that scene, when the awful sound shall be heard: 'Arise, ye dead, and come to judgment.'"

These then are the people, who not only would deprive the Indians of their pure unadulterated theism, but who send Missionaries even into the remote parts of Asia, and who, though their own orgies exceed in absurdity every thing ever done by conjuror, priest, or Mumbo-Jumbo, among the most uncivilized nations, pretend that they alone are the elect of God, and blaspheme his holy name by saying that He inspires their abominable fanaticism!

The friends of an established state religion, and of the impracticable doctrine of Uniformity, may point to the scene above described, and suggest that it proves the want of a national church. I would however desire them to look at home, and see if the Methodists, Jumpers, Ranters, and Muggletonians of England, are not almost or fully as contemptible as their brother fanatics in America, I would also appeal to every one who has read history, and who is acquainted with the progress of superstition and religious enthusiasm, whether the attempt to put down such extravagances by coercion, or in others words, by persecution, has not always produced the contrary effect, viz. that of strengthening and confirming them.

As is the ease in England, the United States abound in societies for propagating Christianity in foreign parts, and for distributing bibles and prayer books. The parent societies have ramifications all over the country, and are busied day and night, in collecting every farthing they can lay their hands upon; from the penny intended for the purchase of gingerbread, and nevertheless contributed to the "Children's Mite Society," up to the large sums of hundreds of dollars, subscribed by the wealthy enthusiast.

The Missionaries, and those striving to convert the Jews, the American Indians, the Hindoos, &c. have indeed adopted such an extensive system of begging, that they strongly resemble the Capuchins, and may be termed a Mendicant Order.—To such a length had public contributions for religious purposes been carried, and to such vexation and annoyance, was a man exposed for refusing to contribute to them, that the legislature of Connecticut passed a law in 1823, forbidding contributions for religious purposes, unless when 2 K 498 expressly permitted by the legislature, and announced by a proclamation from the governor. This excellent regulation has in a great measure liberated the community, from a heavy tax, and a most offensive nuisance. What renders it still remarkable is, that it should have been enacted by the very State which was once governed by the “Blue Laws.” In the days of that pious code, if a person had presumed to say, that it would be better to spend any superfluous money, in adding to the comfort of the people at home, than in attempting to educate the Tartars, he would I suppose have been looked upon universally as a heathen man and a publican.

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CHAPTER XXIX. AMERICAN CHARACTER—CONCLUSION.

Leaving Boston, where I had been, staying at the only truly comfortable hotel I found in all my travels, I passed through a fine cultivated country to Providence. This is the capital of the State of Rhode Island, and is a flourishing town, containing, according to the last census, 11,767 inhabitants. The exterior of the houses in this neighbourhood, as well as throughout the whole of New England, is so neatly painted, that the inhabitants may be supposed firm believers in the old Dutch proverb, that “paint costs nothing.” Many indeed of the houses which I saw in Massachusetts, were neater in this respect, than even those which attracted my admiration, when I was travelling on the canals near Amsterdam.

At Providence I went on board the steam-boat, and descended the beautiful bay of Narraganset. Newport, at which we touched, is celebrated for the beauty of the women; and certainly to judge from the few specimens I saw, this character is very well deserved.

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Indeed the women of New England are as superior to those of the other States in beauty, as they are in education.

After sailing down Long Island Sound I again landed at New York. Here I embarked on board 2 K 2 500 one of the packet ships for Liverpool: and without meeting with any circumstance worth mentioning returned with any native country. But before I conclude the account of my Transatlantic travels, the reader may say to me: "Now that you have returned home, what is your calm and unbiassed opinion with regard to the character of the Americans?" I reply without hesitation, that there is no subject upon which the people of England have been more Completely misinformed, than upon that of the American character. The writings of interested or ignorant individuals have raised a cloud of prejudice against the inhabitants of the United States, that superior information is only just beginning to dissipate. I myself, before visiting the country, had imbibed a great deal of this erroneous opinion; and on landing on the American shore I expected to find a people, very little civilized compared with Europeans, and so rough and brutal in their manners towards strangers, that when they knew I was an Englishman, they would be almost certain to insult me. Judge then of my astonishment, when my own experience proved to me, that the people were kind and hospitable; that the manners of the higher classes were nearly as polished as could be found in any European country; and that the name of an Englishman, far from provoking insult, was a certain passport to the kindness and attention of every one.

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At the same time we must recollect, that as the republic of the United States extends through twenty-three degrees of latitude, the manners of course be the same everywhere. Thus the White inhabitants of the Southern and slave-holding States are high-spirited, fiery, and impetuous, with difficulty restraining their passions, and possessing all those characteristics (many of them very odious) that mark the slave-holder. In those States no one deigns to work, and the gentry or wealth planters occupy their time in sporting, and

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particularly in horse-racing and cock-fighting. They also indulge in the pleasures of the table, much more than their Northern fellow-citizens.

At the revolution indeed, and for some time after it, the Southern States produced nearly all the men of education and abilities; for the wealthy planters generally gave their sons an excellent education, and frequently even sent them to travel and study in Europe. The young men also, certain of inheriting a good fortune, and never entering into any profession, had plenty of leisure to improve themselves in knowledge; and were enabled to devote the whole of their lives, towards the cultivation and increase of the information they had obtained in their youth. Hence they enjoyed a great advantage over the laborious inhabitants of the Northern States, who, with less wealth and leisure, were obliged to occupy themselves in more 502 mechanical employments. But a change has now taken place; and the free states have become the most wealthy, and at the same time the most learned and enlightened. To what can this change be owing, but to the superiority of Liberty over Slavery? Yet whatever the cause may be, the inhabitants of the free States are not only much less impetuous, and much more cautious than the Southerners, but are also superior to them in morality, and perhaps even in politeness and urbanity of manners.

One thing that I could not help remarking with regard to the Americans in general, is the total want of all those games and sports that obtained for our country the appellation of "Merry England." Although children usually transmit stories and sports from one generation to another, and although many of our nursery games and tales are supposed to have been imported into England in the vessels of Hengist and Horsa,* yet our brethren in the United States seem entirely to have forgotten the childish amusements of our common ancestors. In America I never saw even the school-boys playing at any game whatsoever. Cricket, foot-ball, quoits, &c., appear to be utterly unknown: and I believe that if an American were to see grown-up men playing at Cricket, he would express as much astonishment, as the Italians did

* Vide the preface to that pretty little work, "German Popular Stories."

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503 when some Englishmen played at this finest of all games, in the Cascina at Florence. Indeed that joyous spirit, which, in our country, animates not only childhood, but also maturer age, can rarely or never be seen among the inhabitants of the United States.

It has been remarked by almost every one, that the Americans have a great propensity to boast; and many of the works, written on the subject of the late war with Great Britain, furnish abundant proofs of this national defect. I am perfectly willing to grant that they had great reason to be proud of having maintained their rights against so much more powerful a nation; but they have certainly exhibited strong symptoms of vanity, in representing all their own warriors as heroes, and all those of Great Britain as cowards. Thus some nameless skirmish on the Canadian frontier has been compared to Platæa or Marathon; and the victory gained by Captain Perry on Lake Erie, where he took a flotilla carrying in all scarcely as many guns as a large frigate, has been represented as equal to that gained by Lord Nelson, when he annihilated the whole naval force of hostile Europe at Trafalgar.

In the beginning of the year 1823 Commodore Porter, having been sent to take command of the small squadron employed against the Pirates in the Gulf of Mexico, stopped for a day or two at the town of Norfolk in Virginia; and having here 504 been honoured by a public dinner, said in his speech, after his health had been drunk: "It is only necessary to pronounce one name, to awaken our resentments, and to inspire us with vengeance; a name distinguished in the annals of our country; a name synonymous with patriotism, courage, and self-devotion; the name—Allen." Now more than this could scarcely have been said of Washington himself; yet the person mentioned was only an unfortunate Lieutenant, who was killed in attempting to take a piratical schooner. I have not quoted this with any intention of ridiculing Commodore Porter, who is well known to be a gallant and meritorious officer; but I wished to give an example of a common American puff. In England we should be greatly astonished if one of our admirals, at a public dinner, were to pronounce a similar panegyric upon a similar personage; but in America oratorical Hyperbole, is a sort of matter of course, and really means nothing. In this respect, the Americans have neglected the modesty of their English ancestors, in order to adopt

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the vanity of the “grande nation.” But the propensity to indulge in the bombast, though common among the middle and lower classes of the people, is rapidly going into discredit among those of superior education.

A traveller in passing through the different States, cannot fail to remark the great purity with which the English language is everywhere spoken. 505 Indeed although the population is so much smaller than that of the British Empire, yet I am certain that, in the United States there is a greater number of persons who speak pure English, than even in England itself.

The Americans have, it is true, coined some words; but have not we also done the same? What would our critics, have said, if the word *Ultraism* had been used by the orators in Congress, as often as by those in Parliament? I own that some of the words coined, and most of the peculiar significations given to those already in use, might just as well have been avoided; but we should not be surprised at the few slight changes which have been admitted, but rather at the almost entire preservation of the mother tongue, at such a distance from the land where it was first spoken.

Those vile dialects, of which nearly every county in England has its own, are unknown to the Americans; cans; and it is amusing enough, that while we suppose they speak corrupt English, they imagine that we do. The only persons coming from Great Britain, whom they have an opportunity of seeing, are almost without exception mechanics or farmers; and if they arrive from Somersetshire, Yorkshire, or the low lands of Scotland, it is no wonder if the Americans find fault with their almost unintel. ligible jargons. Twice, in the course of my travels when I have mentioned that I was an Englishman, I have been addressed with ‘Well, 506 sir, I should never have suspected that; for you speak English as correctly as an American.’”

As few persons have as yet visited America, except some men of extremely moderate education, and whose national prejudices have never removed by previous travelling,

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we must not be surprised that they found fault with every thing different from what they were accustomed to. Ignorant of men or manners, never having been in good society in England, and from their want of introductions unlikely to be admitted into good society in America, these “Smell-fungus” travellers have passed their time at the most inferior sort of taverns, and often at the pot-houses of the frontiers. They have then come home, and given a book to the world, purporting to be a fair view of the people of the United States.

Now let any one suppose that an American farmer, coming to England, with the intention of settling in Northumberland or Lancashire, were to pass his time at low inns or alehouses, which in all countries are the head-quarters of rudeness, vice, and profligacy; and that in addition he were to select some of the worst description of stories from the newspapers, what a pretty set of materials he would thus obtain for writing a fair and unprejudiced account of the people of Great Britain !—His journal would probably not be very different from the following.

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“July 20.—Stopped at Mr. N's Inn, on the road to—, where I was very badly treated, had a filthy dinner, and was charged eight shillings for it.” Mr. N. was the head gamekeeper of a great proprietor in this part of the country, and has been placed in his present situation in reward for his zeal in oppressing the poor of the neighbourhood. As an instance I may mention, that having one day found a man with a dog on one of his master's fields, he carried him before a clerical magistrate in the neighbourhood, and swore that he *suspected* the poor man of an intention of “poaching.” This word, which we do not understand on our side of the Atlantic, means the killing a wild hare or bird. The Clergyman immediately fined the unhappy man £5 for committing a *trespass*, and as he was too poor to pay it, he was sent by the humane magistrate for two months to the treadmill, under a new act called the Trespass act.

“21.—In the paper of to day is an account of the escape of a certain dignitary of the church from Justice. He was taken up for committing a horrible crime. Now if a bishop could be

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guilty of this, I leave my countrymen to suppose what must be the general character of the English Clergy.

“22.—All I have seen of this nation, proves them to be uncivilized and brutal in the extreme. Only imagine any of our members of Congress, going to see two poor men beat one another almost to death 508 Here it is thought nothing of: for in this neighbourhood there has just been a “prize fight,” well attended by noblemen and gentlemen, who were on the most friendly terms with all the gamblers, blacklegs, and rascals that frequent these disgusting exhibitions.”

Such a journal would form a worthy counterpart to many of those which Englishmen have written about America. Had no other description of travellers visited the Continent of Europe, the people of England would have had about the same idea of the French and Italians, that they have at present the Americans.

Prejudice and former habits give a great bias to the accounts of the most enlightened; and we rarely find that the reports of any two men who have seen the same country agree in every point. Thus when I was in the Western States, if anything thing occurred which obliged me to stop for a day or two at the log-cabin of a settler, I always found plenty of amusement and occupation, in hunting, or in collecting subjects of Natural History, But if any one had been in the same situation, who could not use the rifle, who cared nothing about natural history, and whose only object was to look for a spot where an emigrant could fix himself, he would of course have found it almost impossible to get through the day, and, without intending to draw an unfair picture, would have said, that of 509 all horrid places none could be so intolerable as a cabin in the Backwoods.

But many of our travellers have, I am sorry to say, been guilty of intentional mistatements. Finding themselves disappointed, either in their pecuniary of emigration, they have wilfully caluminated the people of the country. Moreover there are still in England a fes miscreant who detest free institutions, and who maintain with all their might “the right divine to gorven

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wrong." To these men the rising power and importance of the United States in gall and wormwood; and accordingly they have echoed back with redoubled clamour, all the calumnies that have been uttered against the Americans, and with a hatred unworthy of the believers in a Religion of peace, have laboured to excite enmity between us and our Transatlantic brethren.

On this subject the intelligent author of the Sketch Book very properly observes: "The tissue of misunrepresentations attempted to be woven around us, are like cobwebs woven round the limbs of an infant giant. Our country continually outgrows them. One falsehood after another falls off of itself. We have but to live on, and every day we live a whole volume of refutation."*

* Sketch Book, page 108. The whole of this excellent chapter entitled English writers on America, should be read by every one.

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It is lamentable to see that such writers, as those Mr. Irving alludes to, have but to well succeeded in exciting feelings of hospitality against America. Insult has provoked retaliation, and has consequently produced many works, in which Great Britain is held up to ridicule and detestation. I will mention as instances "Old England by a New England man," and "the address delivered, on the anniversary of the declaration of independence, by John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State."* These amiable productions of national hatred deserve to be placed on the same shelf with the works of Ashe, Fearon, and Welby.

* This, which is a disgrace to the secretary both in point of language and matter, was printed at Washington in July, 1821; and would afford a fine treat to the Quarterly.

The people of England are however beginning to view the United States in a fairer light, and in common with the Americans themselves, seem at last disposed to treat all such calumnious publications with merited contempt.

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For my own part, although I went to America full of prejudice against the nation, yet I returned with very different impressions, having been always treated with the most unbounded hospitality and kindness. I am confident, that when many enlightened travellers have visited that great Republic, Englishmen will begin to esteem and respect, a people, connected with them. not only by language, 511 manners, and laws, but also, by that strongest of all ties, Mutual Interest. In contemplating the grand spectacles afforded by this rising, though as yet only infant nation, every unprejudiced Englishman must rejoice, when pointing to it he can exclaim—This was founded by my countrymen!

THE END.

C. Baldwin, Printer, New Brindge-street, London

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ERRATA.

Page Line

27 13 *for* eighty-four *read* thirty-four.

59 2 *for* Verona *read* Vienna.

61 25 *for* or of *read* on.

117 26 *for* 1817 *read* 1811.

122 16 *after* rapid *insert* part.

180 26 *for* long *read* log.

181 4 *for* uninhabited *read* uninhabitable.

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252 11 *for* and *read* they.

277 25 *for* them *read* him.

307 11 *for* in *read* of.

361 12 *for* view *read* plan.